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Sitting out the Revolution

By Richard Cobb

SIMON SCHAMA:

Patriots and Liberators
Revolution in the Netherlands
1780-1813

745pp. Collins. £15.

During a brief visit to Brussels in September, 1944, I took the opportunity to revise the Belgian historian, Suzanne Tasler-Charlier, whom I had first met before the war. In the late 1930s, Madame Charlier had produced three pioneering studies of the Belgian Provinces during the years 1789 to 1793, the first devoted to the Brabant Revolution against the Josephine reforms, the second to the first French Occupation of 1792-93, and to the relations of the occupying authorities and military command to the various strands of the Belgian nationalist movements—the pro-English group around van der Koot, the bizarre *Belgische Christen-Volk* and his friends among the Walloons and other Brussels radicals on the eve of the revolutionary period. As she had been the only Belgian historian to have given a sympathetic understanding to the aspirations in particular of those Belgians prepared to look above all to revolutionary France for support, I had hoped that she would continue research in what seemed a fruitful and still little explored field of Belgian history, so as to cover the second French conquest of 1794, the setting up of the Commission Centrale de Supérieure de la Belgique in the same year, and the inclusion of the nine Belgian Provinces as Départements in the French Republic in 1795, following by a detailed study of public opinion, local conditions, economic exploitation, the effects of the 1795, 1801, and 1812 decrees, the personnel of the new administration, the impact of the Continental System, the development of smuggling, and similar problems during the whole period of French rule.

No one, it would have seemed, would have been better qualified to carry on at the point at which she had left off: that is with the French withdrawal, following the defeat of Neerwinden, in March, 1793, and the formation, in Paris, of a refugee group favourable to French aims, the Comité des Belges et Liégeois (they were, in fact, anything but united, given on the contrary to constant internal bickering, denunciation and counter-denunciation, and competing for rival groups of French patrons, as is so often the case with refugee groups). When I asked her about this, her reply was: "After what we have been through in the last four years, I have no longer any desire to go on working on that dismal period of our national history. One occupation has been enough for me, I do not want to write about two others." What then was she going to work on? The period of Philip II in the Spanish Netherlands, she replied, because that at least represented one of the most glorious pages in Belgian history. I could hardly follow the logic of this, as it seemed to me to be exchanging one Occupation regime for another; but I did not wish to argue, nor was it for me to define just what was Belgian history and what was not.

From then until her death about ten years later, Madame Charlier, who taught at the Université Libre de Bruxelles, lectured and conducted her seminars on the Spanish Netherlands in the sixteenth century. Since her death, there has been only one detailed study of the Belgian Provinces under French rule, and that devoted to the single province of Brabant, in 1795, though there have appeared scattered articles and studies of economic developments under the Directory, and criminality and popular disorders under the Consulate. A detailed history of the nine Départements, however, has not yet been written, and the material available is

Archives générales du Royaume, in the Archives provinciales, as well as in the various Parisian funds, remains to be written, though at present there does not seem to be any likelihood of such a task being undertaken by a Belgian historian.

Madame Charlier's switch of interest is perhaps symptomatic of something more important than a tortured period of national history as a result of exposure to the experience of Occupation, Resistance and Collaboration. The nearest parallel would be the change of interest adopted by Peter Gay and by some of the other senior Dutch historians quoted by Simon Schama in *Patriots and Liberators*, his magisterial study of the United Provinces during the same period. Elsewhere, the interest of national historians has tended to be diverted away from internal history to a study of Jacobin minorities. This has been particularly the case of a group of Italian historians, many of them committed republicans and anticlericals, some of them active participants in the movement of the *Giustizia e Libertà*, who have addressed themselves to research in the intellectual affiliations of the Piedmontese Jacobins, in a double effort to connect them with a wider European movement, and to discover for their own republican allegiance a certain historical reality and respectability.

Such a concern with often elitist and unrepresentative intellectual circles may tend to be both myopic and arrogant. In historical terms, it is liable to result in a whole series of those shogun weddings with which regular readers of the *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, especially in recent years, are likely to be only too familiarly familiar. "La Révolution française et la Pologne", "La Révolution française et la Roumanie", "La Révolution française et la Hongrie", in which the senior partner always looms very large, while the junior one, the humble supplicant, the willing pupil, will sometimes turn out to add up to little more than a dozen or so eccentric, rancorous men of letters, pamphleteers and minor figures of the sort of fulsome circle that poor Anacharsis Clootier was in the habit of trundling before the bar of the National Convention. And there would be more substance to the dun of the French Revolution and Ireland, though, as has been shown in a recent and remarkable thesis by Mariamne Burns, it was not so much the French Revolution as a few members of the Directory, who took a somewhat languid interest in individual members of the Society of United-Irishmen (like Belshazzar-Légéus, who were not very useful either); the English Home Office took a much more effective and energetic interest in the same. Rather more, too, has come, in recent years, of detailed local studies of the French Empire: the *Rhône*, the *Mont-Tonnerre*, and an Israeli historian has published a study of the Hamburg Jacobins which is something more than a mere collection of names, a select bottle of Jacobinism.

But such exceptions merely serve the better to illustrate the validity of an approach always based on a presupposition: that is, that the French Revolution must have had some influence pretty well anywhere you like (Hébert, after all, was not far from taking the Emperor of China; and there were various

Spanish American military characters in the French armies, though there were more important ones in the English service), and also on a very imperial reversal of roles that subordinates the particular characteristics of such national or regional society to "the grand soleil de 93" or in whatever other luminary happened to be in the ascendant in the bloody skies of the Ile-de-France. Not that such timid objections are likely to put an end to an industry that seems at present to be about the only thing that keeps the history of the French Revolution above water and vaguely flourishing, in France itself—yet another bizarre comment on the parlous state of the subject in its country of origin, yet more difficult to draw than that of the *ancien régime* France. Like the unfortunate people he writes about, he is only too aware that a small country is not allowed the luxury of living in isolation; and his study is, of necessity, and very unwelcome necessity—at all times a *conversation à deux* (to put a polite word on hectoring from the one side and timid, but glib, self-protection, from the other), Dutch *in* *trois*, in a period when the Dutch have contented themselves with English interference, bullying, rampaging and pillaging, as with the French version of all these. He has to give due place to the unpleasant fact of a semi-permanent presence *française* and to the unpleasant intermittence of English landings.

His book, at a time when historical studies tend to become increasingly specialized, is a rare, and magnificent, example of total history. This was a matter of necessity as much as of choice; for he had to start almost from the beginning there was so little to build on apart from his own vast research in original sources in The Hague and in provincial records. Nothing could be taken for granted; and even the complicated narrative of a series of violent political changes, some of them imposed from outside, but each also corresponding to currents of opinion within the country, had to be patiently explored, so as to give a sense of a general history which, as described in a general textbook, such as that of Jacques Godechot, would appear as either meaningless or confusing, or merely as a pale imitation, lagging a few months behind, of events in France. So this is a completely new political history which will allow always taking into account French example, the possibilities of imitiveness, and French interference, always succeeding in isolating what the author calls the recalcitrant "nationalism" of Dutch politics.

Even the Dutch Jacobins—or

whichever other name they are given—were not unlike their French contemporaries. In many ways they are largely the same, much more often *predicaments*, so that the Bible, that too of the sixteenth-century preacher, rather than that of Jean-Jacques, their Jacobinism is essentially of moral origin, a form of protest against luxury, luxury, the indolent arrogance of the perverted patricians, a call to austerity and for a return to antique native virtues. Of course, individually, some of the Dutch Jacobins may have shared with the French the rancorous small-mindedness and social envy that were the principal recruiting agents to Jacobin militancy in the French Republic; and suitably, one such Dutch militant is called *laan*. But Dutch Jacobinism was a native product; it was only the physical opportunity that came from outside. So, of course, was Orangism. The author is very good on the Orange mobs: the sailors, the dockers, the Zeelanders, the inhabitants of Gelderland, the servants of The Hague, though one suspects he does not entirely sympathize either with them or with their patrons. Certainly he leaves us in no doubt that Orangism represented the politics of the common people and of the general—and always increasing—miserable of the very poor. It is hard to be pleased about the final triumph of the Orange party, even if the prince, when he landed in 1813, returned to a country that would scarcely have been recognizable to his father, and that had indeed undergone irreversible political, social, administrative, and even religious changes. Still, the people did get their Prince back in the end.

It should not be the purpose of a review, even a review of a political history, so little known, to prick the author's patient narrative of events, from the riots of 1783-84, the 1785 assembly of free corps, the 1786 revolution in Utrecht and that of 1787 in Amsterdam, and the Batavian Republic in 1795, the coup of 1798, the counter-coup of 1801, the setting-up of Schimmelpenninck in 1805, and his replacement by Louis Bonaparte in 1806, the later flight in 1810, the prefectural rule from 1810-13, the landing of the Prince in 1813, the first, that despite the violent names of these events—riot, coup, counter-coup, revolution, counter-revolution—most were in fact accompanied by very little violence, and were followed with very little vengeance, so that any parallelism of the state treasury, that any remedy had to be taken at a national level. Centralism came in the wake of dire need; and it came to stay. The highly centralized Kingdom of the United Netherlands

was not much less. Through the century, throughout these years, was latterly divided, primarily between two parties, the divisions were rarely permanent, so that, in most cases, the politics of vengeance were avoided. Most of those who had served the French regime or had been engaged in radical and republican politics were left unmolested after 1814 and were indeed often employed in the service of the Kingdom of the United Netherlands. For anyone familiar with the bitter polarizations of French local history during these years, with the politics of Terror and Counter-Terror, and with the anarchy of the murder gangs, such moderation is both astounding and wonderfully reassuring. Again and again, throughout the book, one is tempted to comment: what a pity! Still, the sense of complete and lucid coverage is quite overwhelming. What is more, while he is able successfully to ventilate so many specialized or semi-specialized themes, as they come up—and his sections on poverty in the Mass and the Bouteville floods are quite exemplary essays in social history—he never forgets that he is writing about people, both groups and individuals. There are no true villains in the book—save, of course, the absolutely frightful Napoleon, in all his vulgar bluster and insolent and heartless bullying, and some of the more rapacious French agents and commanders, including the old-timers as *Flamant*, *Gautier*, *Thunot*, or the secret agent, *Gateau*, St. Just's former secretary and future biographer—and no marked heroes (though he does make a modest plea for Isaac Gogel). Denials is dotty; but most of his characters are endearingly banal, prudent and sensible; wise people, concerned to sit it out, through a time of storm, and always keeping their priorities right.

Even the king, Napoleon's abused brother, seems to have caught some of this humane good sense, arguing that the repair of a vital dyke was of more importance than re-drawing the map of Europe. Perhaps they were all so sensible because, for so long, they had had to give their efforts to keeping a wary eye on the tides, and the winds, because the Waterstaat was much the most important of their national or local institutions. I do not know the answer; but it is most reassuring to encounter characters—yes, even the famous *predicaments*, the fire-and-brimstone preachers and pamphleteers—who are basically so sensible, so modest, so little given to posturing, so reassuringly ordinary. In terms of individuals, as well as in those of a people, this is a study of survival and the wonderful thing is that both survived.

Personalities abound. Indeed, they are so numerous, it would really be necessary to read the book twice, to get them into some sort of order, and to find one's way among the dozens of these wonderful, wonderful Dutch names. But Mr Schama has not written a *but* list; and they are not just names. Often he is exceedingly funny at the expense of some inflated municipal grandee or provincial squire "on nom a rallonge" (translating sometimes to *thrust*), and he has a dry, yet gentle humour which enlivens his narrative. Even the noisy, drunken *hifans*, coarse fellows, often sickeningly drunk, are given the measure of his understanding indulgence. He writes of individuals and of groups that are convincingly alive; and he describes mentalities and unstated assumptions with insight and compassion. There is a thought even for the many-skinned, rather hefty women from the outlying islands, for the dirty children as they wander in the streets, for the dead cats floating in canals choked with filth (and it comes as a shock, at the beginning of his book, to learn just how dirty Dutch towns could be in the middle and late years of the eighteenth century); his eye takes in the daily and weekly miseries of the inhabitants of horrible institutions (and all one can say is how jolly lucky these people were when compared to the French *indigents*); and, in the land of Schiedam, he makes due allowance to drunkenness, noise, punch-ups and marvellously expressive *insults*. Only crime and the family, the pedlar and the female domestic do not quite get their due; but no doubt they will, for one must hope that a historian, once he has qualified himself, will not now part company with the Dutch.

A very minor criticism might be addressed to Mr Schama's occasional indulgence in slang, due perhaps to the fact that he was writing, partly for an American readership. Nevertheless, I do not think like "spans of paranoid patriotism", "die fall guy", "easy", "stooze", "piddling", "well-heeled" and such like; they come often to pull one up in an otherwise admirably written narrative. Another one wishes there had been more never in the Austrian Netherlands. Finally, as he frequently refers to geographical regions, as well as to provinces, to small villages as well as to towns, to suburbs and to many gates (noor) one wishes there had been more, bigger and better maps. Four are included, but they give only the barest essentials; and topography plays (rightly) a very important part in his narrative. Perhaps this is a matter for his publisher, rather than for the author.

When I was a child, my parents used to say that the only foreigners who were in any way at all acceptable were the Dutch: "They were the most like us", meaning the middle-class, Protestant English. Reading this outstanding book, I cannot help hoping that we are the most like them, so as to be able to sit down to a comfortable future of reassurance, of "sitting it out".

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Madame Chairman

By W. J. F. Jenner

ROXANE WITKE:
Comrade Chiang Ch'ing
549pp. Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
£6.95.

It is a very odd story. One afternoon in August 1972 a young and enthusiastic American academic in Peking on a guided tour at the expense of the Chinese people was visited by two aides of the Chairman's wife, who read to her some of their mistress's speeches at dictation speed. That evening she was wakened by limousine to the Great Hall of the People for a private dinner with Chiang Ch'ing and her notorious literary hatchman Yao Wen-yuan, reports of which were splashed across the front pages of the next day's papers. After the meal it was made clear to the awestruck visitor that she had been chosen to do for Chiang Ch'ing what Edgar Snow had done for Mao and give her story to the world.

A few days later a secret flight to Canton between the embroidered silken sheets of a luxury aircraft was followed by a drive to one of Chiang's heavily guarded villas outside the city to begin days and nights of what were not so much interviews as monologues and rhapsodies, moving from room to room and house to house in the sultry tropical heat.

The serious talking was interrupted by the strangest exhibitions of an autocrat's high camp: Chiang prancing flowers or passing them round her entourage (which included two personal physicians—"barefoot doctors" are strictly for the toiling masses); Chiang Ch'ing showing off with the camera; Chiang Ch'ing leading her entourage, sides with silk skirts (unavailable to ordinary people); Chiang Ch'ing pressing on her visitor extravagant gifts, including books that, it was hinted, may have been obtained for her from someone's private collection; Chiang Ch'ing showing her cordiality of her taste by arranging a showing of Garbo in *Queen Christina*. To Roxane Witke's credit she resisted pressures to prolong her visit for months; goodness knows what else Chiang Ch'ing was intending to burden her with.

She returned to America with an extraordinary scoop, and the initial gleaming excitement of her first encounter with Chiang that radiates from the many photographs on the occasion in the book evidently deepened over the years into a profound fascination. For some time Chiang kept up an exchange of letters and gifts with her American protégée, but the promised approved transcripts of the conversations did not arrive. Subtle and then crude pressures were put on Professor Witke by Chinese diplomats to drop the project. The years went by. Meanwhile the foundations and research councils kept up their funding; rumours flew around; and only after Chiang Ch'ing's astonishing fall did the book she had wanted written finally come out, to a fanfare of publicity that included twelve pages of coverage in *Time* last March.

What, after all that, does the book amount to, apart from the glimpse it offers of how some of China's rulers live? Within the limits of notes and memory, Professor Witke presents the views of a person evidently lacking all finer perception, and moved by vanity, vindictiveness and ambition without bounds. Chiang Ch'ing's views on many issues have been published elsewhere over the past dozen years or so; those who follow Chinese developments have long been painfully aware of them; and they were held up for derision long before Chiang Ch'ing's fall enabled—or rather required—criticism of them to be voiced. In China, as elsewhere, among the *bien-pensant* foreigners who contrive to approve of every political change in Peking and are used to discovering overnight that yesterday's idol is today's public enemy. Since her arrest she has been the target of a campaign of character assassination quite as vicious as those she directed against her enemies and rivals; and to a remarkable extent the way she showed off to Professor Witke matches the image of her being put out with such malicious gleam by the media that used to be under her control.

The book starts with a thin and highly dramatized account of Chiang's childhood that contains very few facts. As a student she is the target of attempts by "the Shili's followers" to win her over—in other words, she chooses to sit in on conversations by the pool in Wen T'ao. We are told that in 1931, when she was seventeen and not yet in contact with the Communist Party, she was making propaganda among the Shanghai peasants about the rural revolution taking place hundreds of miles to the south. In 1933 she joins the party.

When she moves to Shanghai to make her name on the stage and in films while also supporting herself by working for the YWCA, she attracts and resents the concomitant publicity, and in her account she draws a veil over her private life (then and later the subject of scurrilous writings) and makes herself out to be a leading revolutionary. Here she compares herself to the great Lu Hsiang-shan.

Given the intolerant attitude towards the sort of statements old communists had to make to obtain their release from Kuomintang prisons in the 1930s, it is surprising to find her revealing that she was imprisoned for some months until she succeeded in getting a foreigner to guarantee her respectability. Her main hatred seems to be for the communist underground leaders who refused to take her seriously enough.

She laid the foundations for her revenge by going to Yenan in 1937 (some say 1938) and winning the favours of the Chairman; her circumstantial narrative elaborates only on the awfulness of his previous wife. Her account of the retreat from Yenan in 1947, that she was designed to show that she too was a soldier. It was not enough for her to look after Mao, and she still resented not being treated as a leader in her own right.

This resentment continued to rankle through the 1950s. Partly she was held back by ill-health, which led to spells of arduous medical treatment in the Soviet Union. Partly her rise was prevented by rivals within the party who thought they could manage better without her. In their evil and counter-revolutionary way they refused to accept her succession to her husband's position. Some success in the early 1950s, banning many films; she also took part in land reform.

Not until 1955 could she really begin to pay off her scores; and once she started she made up for a lifetime of not being taken seriously enough. Art, literature, theatre, film, music—all had to come under her control. Now that her aging husband had lost confidence in the bureaucracy he had brought to power, he had to take his support where he could find it.

Thus there gathered round him a band of adventurers united only in their wish to upset the establishment: as they rose in their turn were cast aside the survivors cheerfully turned on their previous allies. To expect any sort of frankness or honesty in a Chiang Ch'ing account of her own part in the struggles of the "cultural revolution" would be absurd; fortunately this period is covered mainly from Professor Witke's own reading, including some of Chiang's speeches at the time, so it is rather less one-sided. Chiang's explanation of the death of Lin Biao and her earlier alliance with him is shrill and unconvincing.

Given that the book is pervaded with the self-seeking dishonesty of its subject, need it be read? For the general reader its priority must be low; there are many better books on modern China to be looked at before this one. The student of China will not be able to avoid it, however, because it brings up some fundamental problems about that country's political system.

Chiang Ch'ing was for some years very powerful indeed, not because of her abilities or her achievements, but because as a young woman she had backed Mao's fury. From the photograph of her in Yenan days we cannot be surprised: she was an extremely attractive starlet, and there were very few other educated city girls around at the time. For the next twenty-six years or so she was kept in comparative obscurity, as the Chairman's wife rather than as a person of great importance in her own right.

Her advance, when it came, was a triumph of opportunism, revealing a talent for demagoguery, which, hunting and the ruthless struggle of court politics, but little else. Because Mao did not like the slight whiff of liberalism in the officially sponsored culture of the mid-1960s, he allowed her to destroy it. What so frightening about her cultural dictatorship is not the absurdly crude views of art she held, but the way that she was allowed to impose them to the exclusion of all else. Because she was the boss's wife nobody dared oppose back. Even Chou En-lai, that Talisman of Chinese politics, had to join the chorus of flatterers.

It is a pity that Professor Witke does not show her readers just what Chiang Ch'ing was trying to do to the arts. It would have been salutary if her claims to have "revolutionized" opera, ballet, film, television, literature, and so on, could have been critically examined. Instead the author acts as her apologist, repeating her claims to have taught musicians how to compose and opera singers how to perform without questioning the value of the products of her *laissez-faire* or asking what happened to those whom she did not choose to be her protégés.

It will not do to pass on unchallenged the view of the cultural enforcer who, with her husband's support, created a desert: who dismissed Western culture wholesale while privately admiring *The Sound of Music*; who maintained that there was no room for such decadent genres as love and death; who disavowed on the revision of the hybrid Peking operas she encouraged made each production more grotesquely exaggerated than the one before. It will not do simply to repeat and repeat the claim that Chiang was creating a "proletarian" culture. "Proletarian", indeed! The last thing she encouraged was the actual living art of the Chinese people, which she found coarse, low and vulgar. Nor does the often-repeated claim that Chiang's efforts were "revolutionary" come in for scrutiny, despite its utter implausibility.

These are some of the ways in which Professor Witke falls short of her declared intention of writing the book as a historian whose "balanced judgments" would complement Chiang's narration and her own observation of her person. She has also failed to think hard enough about the nature of Chiang's bid for power, the bid that led to her downfall when she and her associates tried from about 1973 onwards to extend their control from the art and propaganda to the whole apparatus of society: nor is Chiang's part in the bloody upheavals of the late 1960s examined closely.

For it is not enough to justify everything on the grounds that she is a woman, women have had a bad deal in China, and so she was entitled to grab everything she could. That is to argue for individual success at any cost. Indeed, the book is pervaded with something that goes deeper than its feminist bias: it is a celebration of the American admiration of those who get ahead, the author is also, rather short on the Chinese background that would have enabled her to see the derivative and crude nature of Chiang Ch'ing's herangues on Lu Hsiang-shan or the *Red Chamber*. Even in her own area of modern history, her judgments are so few. She has in places repeated her own intelligence out of misplaced partisanship.

Nor is there enough discussion of the fundamental weaknesses in the Chinese political system. Chiang Ch'ing's rise revealed the first place we must ask why it was that it was only as the dictator's wife that she could take so much power, and why it was that as soon as she was dead she could be toppled. Perhaps for a while she appealed to some youngsters as an enemy of bureaucracy, but her populism was a sham: the real struggle was between the court faction and the party bosses. Now the apparition of a back in power, and Chiang Ch'ing's record as a justification for their own dictatorship.

But though not quite history, this book is a vivid re-creation of an appalling subject. The author has done Chiang Ch'ing proud. Let us hope it is a salutary lesson to all and a warning for her evident lack of self-criticism.

The Milesian Firbolg

By Anthony Burgess

TERENCE DE VERE WHITE:

Tom Moore
The Irish Post
231pp. Hamish Hamilton. £7.30.

William Hazlitt thought little of Moore's *Irish Melodies*: "If these national airs do indeed express the soul of impassioned feeling in his countrymen, the case of Ireland is hopeless. If these pretences pass for patriotism, if a country can hear from its heart's core only these rapid, varnished sentiments, lip-deep, and let its tears of blood evaporate in an empty conceit, let it be governed as it has been. There are here no tones to waken Liberty, to console Humanity, Mr Moore converts the wild harp of Erin into a musical snuff-box." True, and yet not true. Hazlitt, like so many English men of letters, had no feeling for music; his other art was painting. He saw Moore's verses on the printed page and found too much missing. What was missing, of course, was the intonation of his voice. That Moore, despite Hazlitt's strictures, knew precisely what he was doing is attested by his undying popularity. Every Anglophone alive knows at least twenty lines of Moore by heart. As for Ireland, she has Yeats, but Tom Moore is still her national poet.

Moore's prophetic ear heard Yeats reciting his own poetry—their tones and meanings indistinguishable as though he were Ossian. He noted that poets with no musical ear tried to bring an inept substitute for music to the lyric channel as opposed to *chanté*. Yeats heard nothing in Moore, Joyce heard much, but like Moore, he was a light boner who could play his own accompaniments. If Yeats wrote words for music perhaps he was meaning not at all, *Chamber Music*, like the *Irish Melodies*, is very little without tunes, Moore had pre-empted the best Irish tunes, which Joyce would have been glad of all he could do to dream-disinfect those tunes, and Moore's words, in *Pinnegans Wake*:

If you met on the barge a poor acheseyd from Ailing, when the tune of his tremble shook shimmy on shin, while his country raised in the weak of his walling, like a pugilant pugilant Lyon O'Lyons....

In one of his letters to his boss son Giorgio, Joyce sets out an admir-

able Moore programme, with sensible hints as to how the songs should be sung. He also, through Stephen Dedalus, resents the Dublin statue of Moore:

He looked at it without anger; for, although sloth of the body and of the soul crept over it like unseen vermin, over the shifting feet and up the folds of the cloak and around the servile head, it seemed conscious of its indignity. It was a Firbolg in the borrowed cloak of a Milesian.... The Dublin Corporation had placed the statue above the city's largest public arena, Leopold Bloom thinks this appropriate: Meeting of the winners. Ought to be placed for women. Running into cake shops.

Any singer of Moore's songs—and this means anybody who has ever been on a works outing or in a pub with a piano—knows how singular they are, and if he does not suspect how skillful, that is precisely what Moore intended. The near-homologies, the tarlished gances, are deliberate, since the meanings must not obtrude overmuch, but there is often a tiny epigrammatic felicity:

Then awake!—till rise of sun, my dear,
The Sage's glass we'll shut my dear,

Or in watching the flight
Of bodies of light
He might happen to take thee for
me, my dear!

This, from "The Young May Moon", has to be heard, not just looked at. The prosodic cunning can only be taken in when the song is sung, since to Moore the music always came first. The lyric beginning "Believe me, if all these tender young charms" has as its fifth line in the first stanza "Thou wouldst still be adored, as this moment thou art"; the fifth line in the second stanza is "No, the heart that has truly loved thee, forgets". "Adored, as this" is the junction of two phrases. When we come to the repetition of the musical passage, we expect also a repetition of the verbal pattern, but instead we get the considerable force of "truly" without benefit of marked sforzando, it soars and descends a fourth to "loves" with an impact that mere recitation could never achieve. This same song ends with one of Moore's delicate, almost apologetic, altogether satisfying similes:

No, the heart that has truly loved
never forgets,
He hits softly. Hazlitt wanted Moore to shout out words of Irish defiance in London drawing-rooms (and thus, as Hazlitt sometimes was, he was thrown out), but Moore's way was one of delicate insinuation so far as the inflammatory liberal themes were concerned. As



Tom Moore by John Jackson, painted in Rome, 1818. From *Terence de Vere White's biography*, reviewed here.

But as truly loves on to the close,
As the sun-flower turns on her god
when he sets,
The same look which she turn'd
when he rose.

Hector Berlioz, who had received this song as well as kisses from the lips of the great Paul, thought that Moore had achieved something here that Shakespeare had missed. Shakespeare, it may be added, missed all the way to capture the sub-singer's cut. We may sing Ben Jonson at closing-time, but never "Take O take those lips away". Nobody seems to understand what Shakespeare's lyrics are getting at. Moore always hits.

He hits softly. Hazlitt wanted Moore to shout out words of Irish defiance in London drawing-rooms (and thus, as Hazlitt sometimes was, he was thrown out), but Moore's way was one of delicate insinuation so far as the inflammatory liberal themes were concerned. As

Terence de Vere White says: "The music does not sound in 'The Milesian Boy', or if it does, not so loud as to shake the tenebris; but it was a considerable achievement to have brought Ireland's story into those London lives." On the other hand, "Let Erin Remember", according to its author, made Emmet wish he were at the head of twenty thousand marching men. The Irish Government, despite the persuasions of Professor W. T. French, refused to adopt this as the Free State's national anthem: one may set up a statue over a mural, but one must not allow a mural to be the official songs of the people.

Mr de Vere White's *Tom Moore* presents a lively picture of the Milesian Firbolg. Firbolg means "man of the bog or belly" and denotes the first inhabitants of Ireland, a kind of dark dwarfs. Moore was five feet and looked somewhat dwarfish, not handsome but very animated, anxious—as a salon singer and a popular poet—to please, but not as servile as the original statue suggests. He was concerned about his own, as well as Ireland's, honour. He read Jeffrey's ringing of his *Epistles*, *Order and Other Poems* in the *Edinburgh Review* ("He may be seen in every page running round the pearly circle of his seductions with incredible zeal and anxiety, and stimulating his laded fancy for new images of love and impiety in *Blackwood's* and elsewhere, so that the author, frightened, thought of making the angels Turkish and turning God into Allah. This would have brought the mythology into line with that of *Lalla Rookh*, in which only the British Lady's Magazine found 'immorality, impiety and voluptuous vice'").

Nobody reads *Lalla Rookh* today (though I seem to remember a Hollywood film whose highbrow hero named his yacht for it), but everybody read it in 1817. Edgar Allan Poe, who had something of Moore in him, said that Moore was the most popular poet in the world. The *Far of all* the Russians and his *Twilight* took part in a stage adaptation of it; it was read, in those Muslim regions best qualified to judge of its scenic authenticity. I'm told, dear Moore, your lays are (Can it be true, you lucky man?) by moonlight in the Persian tongue. Along the streets of Isfahan. Standstill read it at least three times. The author made thousands out of it, but he had no delusions about the real location of his talent: "In a race into future time (if anything of mine could pretend to such a run), those little ponies, the 'Melodies', will beat the mare, *Lalla Rookh*, hollow." "Hollow" is the just word; *Lalla Rookh* was laboriously put together out of books in big libraries. Moore, like many men of auditory talent, did not lack all that much interest in the external world. He made appropriately ecstatic noises when confronted with Mount Blanc, but his work shows few signs of keen observation (even the sunflower image seems not to derive from looking

Moore's association with Byron, which began with a note on the abortive duel in *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*, seemed to some friends, both poets and a reputation Moore deserved in the greater part for stimulating faded fancy with new images of impurity. Moore certainly went further in his near-Jacobin temper of bourgeois England considered proper. In said Norfolk, Virginia, he addressed the wife of the British consul thus: But oh! 'twould ruin souls to see These tresses thus, unbound and free. Adown your shoulders sweeping: They put such thoughts into one's head. Of deshabille, and night and bed, And—any thing but sleeping! His long poem *The Loves of the Angels*, whose theme sounds safe enough in the Book of *Exodus* (the angels of the Lord becoming enamoured of the daughters of men), caused rumblings about irreverence and impiety in *Blackwood's* and elsewhere, so that the author, frightened, thought of making the angels Turkish and turning God into Allah. This would have brought the mythology into line with that of *Lalla Rookh*, in which only the British Lady's Magazine found 'immorality, impiety and voluptuous vice'").

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ANDRE DEUTSCH

Supplementary saws

By S. S. Prawer

ANGELA UTHE-SPENCKER (Editor and Translator):
English Proverbs—Englische Sprichwörter
84pp. Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, DM3.80.

This charming little book takes up a suggestion found among Lessing's papers after his death. "The German language," Lessing had written, "has a great wealth of proverbs. Nevertheless it might not be a bad thing to borrow from other languages proverbs capable of pithy and vigorous translation." He had even made a start on this task; and Angela Uthe-Spencker rightly opens her volume with Lessing's own rendering of "A good bargain is a pick-purse." "Guten Kaufs macht den Bausel leer", "The balance distasteful, eth not between gold and lead" ("Die Waage sagt: das ist schwerer und das ist leichter; aber nicht das ist Gold und das ist Silber"). For a morning's rain leaves not your journey "Ein Morgenregen hintertreibe keine Reise", and other such goodies. To make up the bulk of the book she then selects from the *Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* a number of sayings that fit Lessing's prescription. They are printed in modernized spelling and arranged in groups of roughly related items; each group is itself headed by a proverb, from *Let the world wag at the beginning to So many countries, so many customs* at the end. Each item is followed by a German version which (as the editor-translator modestly explains) makes no attempt to coin new proverbs but tries, as unfussily as possible, to interpret the sense of the English for German readers. No distinction is made between anonymous proverbs and lines from the classics that have become proverbial. "Where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise", "The child is father to the man", "The course of true love never did run smooth", are printed, without ascription, alongside such sayings as "Mind your own business" and "A fool's bolt is soon shot".

Once or twice the translator seems to have missed the force of an English idiom. "Laws undo us" does not mean "Gesetze bringen uns auseinander"; "My lord's letter" is not quite the same as "der Brief meines Herrn"; and "Um ein wenig müssen wir zurückweichen" is not so good as "Wir weichen um so besser" for "We may recall a better to the end we may leave a better" misses the force of "to the end" which would be better rendered by "auf das" or "damit". Sometimes the translation seems over-ingenious: the sense of the final verb in "All are not thieves that dogs bark at" is surely better conveyed by the literal "anbellen" than by "verweren" and "das ist leichter; aber nicht das ist Gold und das ist Silber". For a morning's rain leaves not your journey "Ein Morgenregen hintertreibe keine Reise", and other such goodies. To make up the bulk of the book she then selects from the *Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* a number of sayings that fit Lessing's prescription. They are printed in modernized spelling and arranged in groups of roughly related items; each group is itself headed by a proverb, from *Let the world wag at the beginning to So many countries, so many customs* at the end. Each item is followed by a German version which (as the editor-translator modestly explains) makes no attempt to coin new proverbs but tries, as unfussily as possible, to interpret the sense of the English for German readers.

However much one would wish to argue about these and other renderings, it cannot be doubted that in most respects the translator has discharged her task most ably. She has constantly resisted the temptation of substituting related German proverbs for her English ones. The rendering of "Never buy a pig in a poke" speaks of pigs and not of cats) without sticking too slavishly to her English text: "Every Jack must have his Jill" rightly becomes "Jeder Hans bekommt sein Gretchen". Lessing's influence on the translator is not only in the choice of words but in the style. The translator has made full use of the possibilities offered by the German language: its inflections ("A man's a dog dies, a rich man's child is born"), its adjectives ("stirbt die Kuh, dem Reichen das Kind"), the rich variety of its particularizing verbs ("The proof of the pudding is in the eating", "Die Probe des Puddings geschieht beim Essen"), the stock of its proverbs ("The stick of the truth is the truth itself", "Im Stachel eines Vorwurfs steckt seine Wahrheit"), and the many possibilities of expressive inversion which it offers. Two consecutive entries, chosen almost at random, may serve to show how effectively Frau Uthe-Spencker has used what Brecht called the "speech-gestures" of German—even where, as in the first of these instances, the need to convey the full force of the English necessitates some loss of "Kunststücke" rather than "Schliche". And would a reader with imperfect English rather the sense of "As well be hung for a sheep as a lamb" from "Gehaukt für ein Lamm, wie für ein Schaf"; or that of "Batter a finger off than say wagging" from "Lieber einen Finger ab, als ewiger Schmeichelei"; or that of "A miss is as good as a mile" from "Verfehlt ist so gut wie eine Meile"?

The rule of Eliot

By C. H. Sisson

DAVID NEWTON DE MOLINA (Editor):
The Literary Criticism of T. S. Eliot
216pp. Athlone Press, £6.50.

Importance of two kinds attaches to the critical work of T. S. Eliot. One insight that it gives, disparate but interrelated, as the insights of any true reporter must be, are one thing. The other is the predominance that Eliot has given, through the operation of university departments of English. On this Roger Shattuck, one of the nine contributors to this volume, says: "Two generations of critics and teachers have been influenced by that revolution, and even after Northrop Frye and the Structuralists it is still a mala element in the schools of literature which grew up in the universities after the second world war." In this influence, the role of F. R. Leavis has been so powerful that one may say that Eliot's influence has, as often as not, been felt through a distorting medium. At least one of the contributors to *The Literary Criticism of T. S. Eliot* does not hesitate to lump Leavis with "all the great English critics", the rest of whom "have been poets seeking to justify their own practice in poetry".

This bears reflection; so does the indication that "Northrop Frye and the Structuralists" were the most likely to have disturbed the reign of terror Eliot has maintained. For it suggests a world in which those who prefer literature to the secondary combats of critics must have had their difficulties. The dual nature of the questions to be asked by anyone attempting to assess Eliot's critical work, is clearly understood by the editor of this volume, who distinguishes between Eliot's all-pervasive recent influence in literary criticism in English, and... his true distinctive greatness as a literary critic. It is easier to make the distinction in general than to maintain it in the course of an assessment of the work. For, though the question of influence is primarily sociological, it is not one which can be answered without some inkling of the answer to the question of value; and there

the debate begins again. In a sense, both questions are irrelevant to the literary importance of Eliot's criticism at the present time, for that turns on the question of its—by its nature, as yet imperceptible—influence on innovative minds still young enough to feel the impact of it. Each of these essays deals with a particular aspect of Eliot's critical work, such as "Eliot and the Criterion" (David Donaghy), "The Trains of a Christian Critic" (Samuel Hynes), or "Eliot's Contribution to Criticism of Drama" (R. P. Cook). This is one of the best ways to set up such a volume, but one is left wondering, in the end, whether there is such a thing as "literary criticism", or whether the description does not rather cover a great variety of views and opinions on a great variety of subjects. Eliot's own critical work, as more than one contributor notes, came to light as part of a battle in aid of his own performance. His best criticism is, of course, an important part of the performance, but only the most ingenious whippersnapper of genres and categories could think the crucial insights less important than, say, the more pre-digested parts of the *Four Quartets*. William R. Inge, in "The Philosophical Right to Critique", quotes the lecture in which Eliot himself says: "The 'I' of the poet is not a theory, it is a fact, a fragment, a consciousness, a preparation, a de quique autobiographie". The doubt about literary criticism as a thing in itself—as a discipline, perhaps one should say in this context—limits one's sympathy with the judgement that *Scrutiny* succeeded where the *Criterion* failed. Certainly Eliot's magazine did not succeed in the same sense in which *Scrutiny* may be said to have succeeded too well, in its crude objectives. But although it is easy to find fault with the *Criterion*, the magazine did in fact enable its readers to pick up threads they might not otherwise easily have found, and there were threads which went beyond a single country and a single ideology. And if "the mind of Europe", like the mind of Eliot, proved to be less of a piece than appeared or even seemed to be, the case, in that they resemble other minds. Yet the search for interrelationships, and identity, remains a human habit, and it is no accident that the most comprehensive of the essays in *Scrutiny*, "The Poet as Critic" is also the most interesting.

A particularly delightful feature of this modest and inexpensive book are the black-and-white illustrations by Frieda Wigand, which keep just the right balance between pictorial elegance and woodcut-like simplicity. They help to ensure that it will make a universally welcome present—welcome particularly, of course, to those who wish to perfect their knowledge of English idiom along with their knowledge of literary criticism. There are, however, some pitfalls for this last and largest class of potential users. Some proverbs are taken over from the *Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* in an archaic or dialect form which the translator does not seek to reproduce. The German visitor who tries on his English hosts "He that follows to freils, freils will follow", or even "It chances in an hour that happens not in seven years", may well, in return, get a blank stare and an indulgent smile of incomprehension. And even in these permissive days he may risk an Eliza Doolittle situation if, at an English tea-party, he tries to use, instead of the anodyne version with which we are all familiar, the vigorously picturesque one here reprinted: "This kettle calls the pot burner-tree".

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By C. Northcote Parkinson

A FRIENDLY:

Beaufort of the Admiralty
The Life of Sir Francis Beaufort
1774-1857
362pp. Hutchinson, £7.50.

We are apt to see British naval history as a series of epic conflicts leading up to the Seven Years War, with a setback in the War of American Independence and then, to reverse that last result, the triumphs which marked the career of Lord Nelson. Far less dramatic were the naval episodes of the Crimean War, and finally came ashore in 1812, having been on active service for the best part of twenty years. He was in nearly every respect a typical seaman of the period. He was, to begin with, repeatedly in action, being present at two general engagements and in a whole series of minor actions. At the Battle of the First of June (1794) he was signal midshipman on board the Aquilon (of thirty-two guns), the repeating frigate attached to the rear squadron. He was again signal midshipman, this time of the frigate Phaeton (thirty-eight guns) at Cornwall's action in June 1795. While in the same ship as lieutenant in 1800, he was wounded in hand-to-hand conflict while capturing a small Spanish warship and was promoted commander in recognition of his gallantry. Of his courage and professional skill there can be no doubt at all and he was typical again in two other respects. He did fairly well, to begin with, in prize money. In the Aquilon he made about £300 as a midshipman, in the next year, in the Phaeton, he made over £400 by 1799 and must have had some thousands by the time he married in 1812. He was no anchorite, however, in his relationships with the other sex. In his letters there are references to prostitutes ashore and later talk of flirtations and romances. He would seem to have been no puritan in youth, no stranger to wine, women and song.

After 1801 Beaufort's career almost came to a standstill. His promotion took place on the eve of the Peace of Amiens and he found himself in a curious position. No character could better illustrate this transformation than Francis Beaufort, who lived from 1774 to 1857. He went to sea in 1789 and finally came ashore in 1812, having been on active service for the best part of twenty years. He was in nearly every respect a typical seaman of the period. He was, to begin with, repeatedly in action, being present at two general engagements and in a whole series of minor actions. At the Battle of the First of June (1794) he was signal midshipman on board the Aquilon (of thirty-two guns), the repeating frigate attached to the rear squadron. He was again signal midshipman, this time of the frigate Phaeton (thirty-eight guns) at Cornwall's action in June 1795. While in the same ship as lieutenant in 1800, he was wounded in hand-to-hand conflict while capturing a small Spanish warship and was promoted commander in recognition of his gallantry. Of his courage and professional skill there can be no doubt at all and he was typical again in two other respects. He did fairly well, to begin with, in prize money. In the Aquilon he made about £300 as a midshipman, in the next year, in the Phaeton, he made over £400 by 1799 and must have had some thousands by the time he married in 1812. He was no anchorite, however, in his relationships with the other sex. In his letters there are references to prostitutes ashore and later talk of flirtations and romances. He would seem to have been no puritan in youth, no stranger to wine, women and song.

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ally he who gave the British Admiralty chart its international reputation. Beaufort published 1,446 new charts in all, at an annual average of sixty-eight as from 1835. As Mr. Friendly remarks: "The cartographic standards set up by Beaufort have been faithfully observed ever since. The Admiralty Charts of today and the techniques that go into their making remain unsurpassed throughout the world." Beaufort worked long hours, achieved a monumental result in cartography, published a *Manual of Scientific Inquiry* for use by naval officers, advised the government on a wide variety of subjects, attended church at Portman Chapel and gave special attention to the problems of Arctic exploration. He put a quarter of a century at the Admiralty. He was Victorian, too, in his covert sins and remorse. After his wife's death he committed incest with a sister before he married again, a scheme of great simplicity which he could have evolved in the course of an afternoon. He had observed that ships' log books used a variety of terms like "small gale" or "fresh gale" which could mean different things to different people. He proposed, therefore, that wind velocity should be measured from Force 0 to Force 13, with intermediate figures like 6 (fresh breeze) and 8 (moderate gale). There was no anemometer in his time, so that his wind measurements could not be translated into mph or otherwise than by stating the amount of sail that could be carried. The system has since been modernized but "Twelve on the Beaufort Scale" remains the sort of term still used, and Beaufort, for one, could have wished for no more fitting memorial.

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SOCIAL STUDIES

In a good cause

By E. S. Turner

HILARY BLUNK:
Fund-Raising: A Comprehensive Handbook
188pp. Routledge and Kegan Paul.
£2.25.

"Fund-raising should be fun!" runs the message on the back of this book. Jessica Mitford would agree; she claims in *A Fine Old Conflict* to have revelled in her gold-digging role for the American Communist Party. The fund-raising with which Blunk is concerned is the charitable kind: it is one-time appeals for War on Want, the next step is to complain to the minister. The layout of charity literature may pose problems, so why not ring up the creative director of an advertising agency and ask his advice? Some odd one may be flattered enough to give free help. Another tip: it is sensible to ask your printer what his quiet season is, as he will often take a discount for work which keeps machines busy during dark times. If your design is rejected by a potential donor (a picture of a pregnant youth, for instance) you can always win a publicity bonus by telling the other media about it.

Without undue surprise, we learn that the appeals which fall flattest are those on behalf of people who have "brought it on themselves": alcoholics, drug-addicts, unmarried mothers. Still not greatly surprised, we find that most charitable trusts are conservative, pioneer nothing knowingly and have a doctrinaire belief in self-help, which means that those who take up trendy causes must use the admirable Directory of Grant-Making Trusts with circumspection. "No bling trustees is a talent," a clumsy approach can ruin all hope of success for years to come.

Legacies are the thing. If one can get them with witty slogans like "Fight Cancer With a Will", it is, of course, the established charities which profit most from this source; 70 per cent of the RSPCA's income is bequeathed. The "disproportionately high income" of animal charities is the result, of animal thinking, not of angling for legacies but of the respect of old people by relatives and friends.

If the nobbling of trustees is a talent, so is the nobbling of celebrities. To assist fund-raising on behalf of schools and youth groups are usual "everyday" stars, perhaps, all that thick on the ground. The book contains fascinating tables showing the sums raised by well-known people in appeals on television and radio. Speculations about the figures are hard to resist. Jimmy Saville raised £22,650 in 1974. I would have betted a million pounds that not a soul in suburbia had the necessary knowledge.

There are some aspects of fund-raising which Hilary Blunk does not mention: for instance, the traffic in mailing lists of "easy touches", which breeds a certain cynicism among donors; or such murky practices as including the "Turner" in the book, including that of a firm which makes those sentimental statuettes seen outside chemists' shops, but there is no indication how to find a good overseas fund-raiser.

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What is it about Yorkshire that produces such a rich vein of memories and memoirs? Roger Mason's *Granny's Village* is an account of the village of Thorsby in the Yorkshire dales in the 1880s and 1890s, drawn from the recollections of a grandfather, who was born in 1862. Passing thoughts of a real person when alone, cause, be other than imagined by the author. Fiction grafted on to fact can be irritating and induces a suspension of belief in the reader. Mr Mason does not escape this pitfall when writing of his great-grandmother, but once the story is taken up by his eponymous character, the book is how it was for Nelly Riley, her brothers and sister, living in the two-up two-down Love Tree Cottage with Sara, the thoughtful, hardworking mother, and Bushman, the energetic, handsome father, local wheelwright.

Nelly, who goes into service at the Big House at twelve years old, is introduced as a domestic, tries again at the vicarage and is happy on her wage of three and sixpence a week, but is taken away by her

mother who decides that her daughter's happiness is a small price to pay for her employment at the mill and a pound a week. Released from this dreadful existence comes after some months when Nelly's mother is barely fourteen and her father is a young man, the weeks of courtship follow. Nelly's life once she is restored to health takes a totally different direction: she becomes a teacher in the village school. The pattern is broken once again when her mother dies and the care of the family becomes her responsibility. But in the end Nelly marries her faithful Will Mason.

It is this slender frame Roger Mason has drawn a picture of detailed fidelity to the life and times of not only his grandfather but of a village and its inhabitants. As in all lives, however hard, cheerfulness breaks through and Mr Mason's account of a cricket match between the ladies and gentlemen of Thorsby is very funny indeed. Incidentally, should one ever run out of sport but possess a surplus of drip-ping and some caustic soda, the recipe is given on page 160.

R. Barbara Dean's *Drumell Hall* (124pp. The Recreation and Culture Division, Metropolitan Borough of Stockport, £2.95) traces the history of this black and white Elizabethan manor house from its construction to the present day. Between about 1400 and 1625 this fine house was lived in by consecutive generations

had swapped causes? "Generally," it seems, "ITV appeals are expected to yield less than those of BBC." Yet even Harry Secombe, on Christmas Day on BBC Two, vision, could attract only 1903 in one-parent families. Two months earlier, on the same channel, Jonathan Dimbleby had raised £1,400,000 for drought victims in Africa.

A fund-raiser needs a fair amount of nerve if he is to carry out some of Hilary Blunk's advice. Should a civil servant turn down a solicitation for no apparently good reason, the thing to do is to complain to his superior (whose name can be found in the *Civil Service Year Book*) and it will help if the complaint comes from someone eminent. If that does not work, the next step is to complain to the minister. The layout of charity literature may pose problems, so why not ring up the creative director of an advertising agency and ask his advice? Some odd one may be flattered enough to give free help. Another tip: it is sensible to ask your printer what his quiet season is, as he will often take a discount for work which keeps machines busy during dark times. If your design is rejected by a potential donor (a picture of a pregnant youth, for instance) you can always win a publicity bonus by telling the other media about it.

Fired by the example of Dr Barnardo's popular mail-order catalogue and the chains of successful thrift shops run by other charities, the uninitiated fund-raiser can easily become over-ambitious. The writer warns against launching schemes such as concerts and balls, which can lose the charity money instead of making it. She also points out the dire risks involved in engaging professional fund-raisers, whose fixed charges may engulf nearly all the proceeds. Evidently there is much to be said for old-fashioned house and street collections, or even more for collections in person, where people are more liberal because they are slightly ashamed of the asking; an affecting thought in 1977.

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mother who decides that her daughter's happiness is a small price to pay for her employment at the mill and a pound a week. Released from this dreadful existence comes after some months when Nelly's mother is barely fourteen and her father is a young man, the weeks of courtship follow. Nelly's life once she is restored to health takes a totally different direction: she becomes a teacher in the village school. The pattern is broken once again when her mother dies and the care of the family becomes her responsibility. But in the end Nelly marries her faithful Will Mason.

It is this slender frame Roger Mason has drawn a picture of detailed fidelity to the life and times of not only his grandfather but of a village and its inhabitants. As in all lives, however hard, cheerfulness breaks through and Mr Mason's account of a cricket match between the ladies and gentlemen of Thorsby is very funny indeed. Incidentally, should one ever run out of sport but possess a surplus of drip-ping and some caustic soda, the recipe is given on page 160.

R. Barbara Dean's *Drumell Hall* (124pp. The Recreation and Culture Division, Metropolitan Borough of Stockport, £2.95) traces the history of this black and white Elizabethan manor house from its construction to the present day. Between about 1400 and 1625 this fine house was lived in by consecutive generations

MEMOIRS

The first gentleman of Virginia

By Carl Bridenbaugh

DONALD JACKSON and DOROTHY TWOING (Editors):
The Diaries of George Washington
Volume 1, 1748-1765. 371pp.
Volume 2, 1766-1770. 374pp.
Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia (Transatlantic Book Services). \$15 each.

That master of innuendo, Hilaire Belloc, once wrote that it is no wonder that Americans won their War for Independence when one recalls that they were led by an English gentleman against the forces of "a Hanoverian Boor". More weighty and less perverse was the measured judgment of H. G. Wells, who included George Washington in a list of the ten greatest men of all recorded history. Certainly there ought to be a stably lay audience, in addition to the community of scholars, to welcome and read *The Diaries of George Washington* (1748-1770), the first two of six volumes, sponsored by The Ladies Mount Vernon Association of the United States and the University of Virginia. Fifty-two years ago, the ladies of this same public-spirited association financed the first, or Regent's Edition, of the diaries, which was edited by John C. Fitzpatrick, of the Library of Congress.

The importance of the diaries stems not from any signal literary quality or readability but from the eminence of the diarist. In them we look in vain for the vividness of Pepys, a portrait of a society, such as Samuel Sewall penned for puritan Boston, the detailed analyses of American politics provided by "that brace of Adames", or even such vignettes of a ruling class as are to be found in the diaries of the New Yorkers, Philip Hone and George Templeton Strong.

This personal record of George Washington resembles more nearly those of his English contemporaries, such as the Reverend John Woodford and the Reverend Ebenezer Parkman of Westborough, Mass (1724-1783). There is no conscious revelation of himself or his friends. The Virginian intended his diaries to serve merely as reminders: of the weather (so necessary for a farmer and soldier), precisely how much his varied activities cost him, and "Where and How My Time is Spent". Such details are set down economically, in a matter-of-fact way, clearly, tersely, pitifully. Single sentences for one day abound. A majority of the pages make very dull reading, even for the devotees of autobiography. Nevertheless, they contain a mass of information about "the Father of His Country", which is of the greatest value to his biographers and historians.

A patient, slow reading of the

volumes yields a central theme: the making of a great English gentleman, Virginia Division (as the New Yorker's editors might put it). Few men, if any, travelled as widely in North America, and probably more than three-fourths of his military was traversed in the saddle. Thomas Jefferson told Dr Walter Jones in 1814 that General Washington "was the best horseman of his age, and the most graceful figure that could be seen on horseback". By 1770 (at the age of thirty-eight) he had voyaged south-westward as far as Barbados and westward to the Falls of the Ohio—on foot, on his horse, in a canoe, on a log raft. He rode out, daily at Mount Vernon, to inspect and superintend his plantation "people" white and black, for he was his own overseer; and he spent many an afternoon starting and chasing foxes, more than half of which (he noted) seem to have got away. George Washington was a hunter on horseback long before he became the leader who so impressed Yankee eyes in 1776 during his first visit to camp.

And there was General Washington upon a snow-white charger. He jinked at his all-outdoors. Only a natural larger.

Throughout the years before the War for Independence, the Virginian planter was absorbed in farming and accumulating additional acres to be put under cultivation or reserved for the future needs of a great estate. These diaries provide admirable data about the conversion of Mount Vernon from an exclusive tobacco culture to a more profitable and dependable mixed farming; Indian corn (maize), wheat, flour-milling, grazing. From the Potomac River, his slaves sailed shad, herring, and other Chesapeake fish for sale or to be salted down for consumption by the estate's people. There was no library at Mount Vernon like those of Monticello and Montpelier which kept Jefferson and Madison away from plantation duties; the master possessed only a few do-it-yourself books on practical subjects, such as farriery, Jethro Tull's *The Horse-Hoeing Husbandry*, gardening, and household medicine. And though he read little, he conversed much and was a very good listener.

Washington was always a man of action. He worked hard and he played just as hard. When he was not riding out over his estate or hunting, the Virginia gentleman was in the saddle to visit and dine with his neighbours, attend vestry and court meetings, serve at the sessions of the House of Burgesses in distant Williamsburg, or look after business chores at Alexandria, Colechester or Fredericksburg. And he was a loyal Freemason. His hospitality was open and frequent, and he enjoyed good dining with his relatives and friends. At plantation balls he was a fireless dancer, and seldom missed a theatrical performance wherever he might be.

In these respects Washington turned out to be the typical, respectable, and sociable English gentleman, widely respected for the civility he practised. But in other ways confined to the American scene, he displayed the aristocratic spirit of noblesse oblige in strange suits alien to the English experience. We read in his journals about the militia officer who led Virginia's buckskins against the menacing Gallies and their Indian allies. By upbringing, station, experience, and ambidextrous inclination, he had been inspired and trained to command men in either peace or war. Here again his horsemanship marked him as a leader; and in the face of danger he was utterly fearless. Joined to his military duty was that of the forest diplomat. He understood the redskins well and recognized that now and then he must suffer silently "the tedious Ceremony" of conferences and treaty-making. Thus the Anglo-French contest for the Ohio Valley, 1754-1763, transformed the Virginia colonist into a true frontiersman (as well as an international figure), one who could courageously undergo physical hardships, fight in the backwoods style, and always keep a sharp lookout for Western lands—for the planter, quite as

much as the pioneer farmer, was a dreamer and a speculator.

The fundamental element in Washington's character, according to Thomas Jefferson, was prudence, followed closely by integrity, honesty, and a stern sense of justice. These qualities, all of them prime attributes of the English gentleman, are implicit in the diaries and journals. To them should be added his scrupulous daily accounting for his time, which was not merely a bourgeois habit made famous by Poor Richard's "Time is Money" but also a legacy of the Lollard-Puritan tradition to all Englishmen, even a low-churchman in Tidewater, Virginia.

One aspect of Washington's life that never ceases to fascinate is that the planter-soldier wrote readily and turned out in a correct and easy hand an incredible amount of writing for a man of action unsustained by education and wide reading. Recording his agricultural procedures, keeping track of his time and the weather, and maintaining a most extensive correspondence must have occupied him nearly all of the hours he spent indoors.

At this point we may properly ask to whom this new edition is directed, and whether it supersedes that of John C. Fitzpatrick. Despite the accuracy of the text, the editing falls far short of the American standard formulated by Wm. H. Lewis and his followers in plan-



"The Child's Birthday": a porcelain group produced at the Frankenthal factory, 1773. From *The Colour Treasury of 18th Century Porcelain* (138pp. Elsevier/Phaidon, £5.95); the text is by Siegfried Druet and there are eighty-eight colour photographs.

judgment, and execution. The decision to place long notes in small type immediately below each day's entry was fatal. Lay and scholarly readers alike are overwhelmed by the editorial apparatus, which accounts for most of the additional space required. It is impossible to learn what George Washington was like by reading the entries consecutively; for this we must still resort to Fitzpatrick. The notes are unnecessarily extensive and sometimes irrelevant. Witness the entry for March 26, 1767: "Sale of Colon. Colville Mesroes" is followed by twenty lines of small print about the minor, which impedes rather than enlightens the reader. On the other hand, something is needed to explain how a spa could flourish on the frontier at Warm Springs, which ought to appear in the index. And the editors, who themselves are confused over the meaning of "merchandise mill" and "freestone".

An innovation in a work of this kind is the inclusion of 130 illustrations, one for every five pages of text and notes. They are printed by offset on the same pages as the text and many are indistinct. Some reproductions of letters are so reduced in size as to be illegible without a glass. What are we to make of the seven maps of the areas of the great equestrian Virginia on which the roads are not marked—nor even for Mount Vernon? The provisions and explanation of the illustrations should appear in the list of illustrations in the front matter, not in the captions, if only for reasons of space. No effort has been made to relate the pictorial matter to the text. One concludes that the editors have no understanding of the graphic materials as a historical source; embellishment alone, as with most publishers, was their intent. Numerous nineteenth-century romantically conceived steel engravings are included, which mislead more than they assist the reader. And none of the illustrations is dated in its caption. Such deficiencies seem to be less the fault of the picture editor than of the overall planning of the set. For the illustrations are not even alluded to in the editor's introduction.

Improvements in photography and reproductions and vastly enlarged collections of paintings, prints, and engravings make possible the use of graphic materials as an historical source. But authors, editors, and publishers have all failed to learn how to use them as such. So we get nothing but designers' books in which illustrative matter is meant only to amuse and serve as a companion. The failure is almost universal. The signal fact about *The Diaries of George Washington* is that false or misleading illustrations appear in an otherwise scholarly work. We sorely need to develop an auxiliary discipline such as the medievalists have with epigraphy, diplomatics and paleography, to train authors and editors in the correct and accurate use of graphic materials and to formulate rules for precise dating and other ways of determining the validity of an illustration. For these are the picture years; we ought to make the most of them.

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Ambivalence is all

The grab for the East

By Hugh Thomas

DAVID IRVING:
Hitler's War
926pp. Hodder and Stoughton. £9.95.

The twentieth century should have belonged to Germany. There has hardly been a sphere, artistic, practical, scientific, military, in which, in the years since 1900, Germans have not excelled. Vast raw materials, an expanding population and a strategically decisive position in Europe gave Germany every advantage over her potential rivals. The result has been a failure: after two unsuccessful "grabs for world power" (to use Fritz Fischer's phrase to describe German war aims in 1914), Germany has been redivided, both regions around which the idea of unity in the nineteenth century revolved (Prussia and Austria) have been lost to her, the recollection of the Second World War still hampers a new generation of Germans in seeking a foreign policy of their own, and while after a generation of seeking *Lebensraum*, Germany's eastern frontiers are in some places behind where they were in the twelfth century. Along with the collapse of Germany proper, the immensely extensive German colonies in Eastern Europe also went down the drain, along with the independence of all the other peoples, Romanians and Hungarians, Lithuanians and Bulgarians, who had unwisely put their faith in Germany, against Russia.

The birth-rate of both Germans, obeying some instinctive law which cludes demographers, has steadily dropped. The reason for this failure was that Germany's leaders lived in the past. United late, Germany aspired to empire just at the moment when the empires of other countries in Western Europe were becoming top-heavy. Further, Germany chose, as her share of what she considered the Third World, the fertile sections of Western Russia which, under the Tsars, certainly seemed politically restless, but which, when Germany was underdeveloped, perhaps if Frederick the Great had mounted a crusade into Russia, he might have been able to convert the Ukraine and Crimea into the German Canada, but even then it would have been a bit late, as Charles XII had discovered at Poltava. In the twentieth century, the Russian state, except when caught by surprise or after a breakdown at home, was able to maintain imperial control over her own granary, even if she could not make Ukrainians happy. The idea of a German empire in the East, therefore, was an illusion even in 1914, and it was a fantasy in 1941. Yet Hitler needed to think of Russia as an undeveloped world, lying ready for German immigrants and investments, and he and his staff not only underestimated, but made almost no effort to find out, the strength of the Russian army and the Russian economy.

David Irving's new book traces the last stage of this appalling failure. It is an original and perverse book in the sense that, while it is often critical of Hitler, it is written entirely from the angle of what Hitler saw. Churchill and Britain are rarely given the benefit of any doubts; Roosevelt never, Stalin occasionally, when Hitler was himself shocked into admiration of some especially ruthlessly successful action of the Russian dictator. Irving's book is extremely good, but it is not only found a great deal of previously unused material, but has gone back and looked at papers which other historians have used, in his opinion, inadequately. Some documents may have misled him, it seems: "Weeks of searching with a prison-magnifying glass, a kind of sensitive mine detector—in a forest in East Germany failed to unearth glass jar containing stereograms of Komintern leaders." Still, he must know the material on this subject as well as anyone. The book is often repetitive, and would have benefited from a ruthless editing together of the accounts of Germany's adventures. Even so, the originality of the angle makes the book worthwhile, though readers would have profited from more information about why the German army and navy were so badly equipped.

It is reasonable to raise this question. There is no documentation, and Mr Irving is certainly at liberty to question the widespread judgment that the order must have been given orally to Himmler. Mr Irving puts his argument in a reasoned tone, and it is surprising to hear that his German publishers cut out these sections of his book without telling him—just as they apparently cut out his accusations that the Germans found incinerators for human beings in the Russian embassies in Paris and Berlin in 1940. Even so, he does not sustain his argument satisfactorily.

The *Sunday Times* has, for instance, rightly shown that one of the documents upon which Mr Irving leans must—an order saying that the Jews being deported from Berlin were not to be liquidated—does not lead to the conclusion he draws from it. Hitler himself, from his earliest years, as indeed Mr Irving admits, dreamed of ridding Europe of the Jewish plague, and (as Mr Irving overlooks) actually referred, in *Mein Kampf*, that the thousands of Jews whom he regarded as responsible for the defeat of 1918 had not been gassed. Hitler, of course, exorcised his autistic feelings within Germany through the 1920s and promoted, or parodied, in particular those known to share his phobias. In the Second World War itself, Hitler spoke of "razing Moscow to the ground", authorized the execution of the entire male population of Stalingrad, approved regular phony massacres of the Polish *Intelligentsia*, and the shooting of Russian prisoners of war who collapsed on their way west. Hitler favoured the shooting of fifty hostages for each German life taken by members of the Resistance, and proposed that after the war Czechs who were either anti-Nazi or were of inferior racial origin should

be shot. It is crystal-clear that whether Hitler's comments exist or not, Hitler to have been concerned with the Holocaust or not, he was certainly capable of using any violence to fulfil his aims or illusions.

Yet everything in Hitler's intellectual preparation as in his previous speeches and writings, and as in his utterly ruthless attitude to people whom he disliked, suggests that he was likely to have been very enthusiastic for the "final solution", which von Schirach bravely complained in him about the treatment of the Jews of Amsterdam being set off in open trucks, he commented: "You have to learn to hate." Or take an argument Hitler had with Admiral Horthy in 1943, quoted by Mr Irving: "Jews must be treated like tuberculosis bacilli... [is] that so cruel, when one considers that even innocent creatures like hares and deer have to be put down to prevent their doing damage? Why preserve a harmful species whose annihilation is to inflict bolshevism on us all?"

In these circumstances why should Himmler have wanted to keep the murder of the Jews a secret from Hitler? The establishment of the extermination camps in Poland required an elaborate organization, involving railways, bulldozers, labour organizers, purveyors of Zyklon-B gas, as well as SS men. Himmler was a methodical man, with many enemies, and did not take risks. He himself in May 1944 stated that he had received a "solid order" to embark on the final solution. Mr Irving discusses this as self-justification, but that in itself shows a certain selectivity in his judgments as to what to accept and what not. On this important matter Mr Irving would seem to have become intoxicated by the rhetorical idea that sanitation can take the place of judgment.

On the other hand, Hitler was a bad (not a weak) leader in ways which Mr Irving does not bother to consider—if by bad, one means short-sighted, or simply wrong-headed. For example, Hitler foolishly took the side of Red

commissioner Koch against that of Rosenberg on the possible use which the German armies might make of Ukrainians or anti-communist Russians during the war against Stalin: an action which, combined with his meretricious attitudes to Russian Jews, had a decisive effect on the war in the East. Nor does Mr Irving explain Hitler's decision to declare war on the United States after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. There was no strategic issue at stake, and if the United States had found themselves at war alone with Japan, their declaration of war on Hitler might have been delayed for a long time. No other single misjudgment so well illustrates Hitler's unsoundness of touch on all matters of world diplomacy—all politics, one might say, which related to things outside central Europe, which, of course, he knew well.

Then there are some other characteristics of this book which indicate a certain cloudiness of overall vision. Hitler is often treated rather favourably, as, for instance, when we read of him enjoying the spring sunshine in the woods near Luxembourg with his generals before the attack on France in 1940, for all the world as if they were characters in *Turgenev's Smoke*; the bomb plot of July 1944 is considered wholly from Hitler's angle, and Stauffenberg, Beck and others dismissed almost as murderers; Hitler's relations with his secretaries are touchingly described. But it does not make much sense to place these affecting comments beside passages which accurately describe Hitler as murdering, mutilating, or merely time-wasting, without more analysis of his character and his relations with other people.

The book is long, and I hesitate to suggest it should have been longer, but a general sense of where everything fitted, character and country, was something that I found missing. Hovering uncertainly between hero and villain, Mr Irving's Hitler becomes alive only when he is seeming agreeable; hence no doubt Mr Irving's impulse, perhaps only subconscious, to write a book which has the public reputation of being something of a whitewash, while in fact he is textually as hard as anyone has been. But Hitler makes, the

murder of the Jews aside, an unconvincing hero. Capturing power in a great country by the use of political skills very well adapted to that country at that time, he certainly helped Germany's economic recovery between 1933 and 1938 and, between 1938 and 1941, obtained major European successes by the clever manipulation of overwhelming force, high morale and reluctance at the idea of a new war on the part of his enemies. But to suggest, as some have done, that Hitler is "cleared of the prime responsibility for the crime of the century" he would "emerge 'for history' as an extraordinary states-

man and military strategist" is untrue: Hitler's grand failure was that he inherited a great opportunity and threw it away, wretchedly, since he was too preoccupied by getting people to hate each other, and since he was thoughtless, shortsighted and parochial.

How was it possible, for example, for someone wounded in the German defeats of 1918 to have neglected the supreme importance of keeping the United States out of the repetition of that war? How, too, could he have supposed that Britain could have signed a peace treaty with him in 1940 or 1939 when he had shown Hitler utterly

unreliable before that? Who else but Hitler would have kept on the indolent Goering at the head of the air force for so long? Intemperate outbursts of Hitler's incapacity come to mind.

There are many interesting things to be found in David Irving's book: it is useful to be reminded how important, for example, Russian economic assistance to Hitler was between 1939 and 1941, interesting to know that Ribbentrop, talking with Stalin and the other communist leaders at the Kremlin, felt that he was "among comrades barely distinguishable from his National Socialist acquaintances"

and useful, when the triumphs of Allied code-breaking are at last in the public domain, to know that the Germans, at any event in the early part of the war, had successes of that sort (particularly telephone tapping) too. Some of the perverse judgments (such as the treatment of the plot of 1944) at least stimulate reflection. But it is impossible to get to the end of *Hitler's War* without feeling that the leader who overthrown so much was himself more concerned with fantasy than statecraft, nostalgic more than history; while war itself seemed more like an opportunity for murder carried on by other means.

The written records

By Ronald Lewin

A. G. S. ENSER:
A Subject Bibliography of the Second World War
592pp. André Deutsch. £11.95.
S. L. MAYER and W. J. KOENIG:
The Two World Wars
A Guide to Manuscript Collections in the United Kingdom
317pp. Epping: Bowker. £12.50.

Apart from the records available in such places as the Imperial War Museum, there is a vast quantity of books in English about the Second World War. There has been an American publication, compiled by Janet Ziegler and issued by Stanford University. But that only covered the books issued between 1945 and 1965. By including books that appeared during the Second World War itself, and by extending his catchment area to 1974, A. G. S. Enser has greatly assisted the military student—and his labours must have been Herculean.

The book's arrangement is sensible and clear. A comprehensive index gives not only the names of authors but also the titles of their books and the page references (and alternative titles) for each book mentioned. There is also a subject

index listing the large number of major and minor headings under which the literature is classified. As Mr Enser is a former public librarian one would expect this side of his work to be professional and practical.

But he makes no claim to his entries being exhaustive, and adds, indeed, for information about errors and omissions. Some constructive comment on a workmanlike book will not, therefore, seem unfriendly. And there are errors—of omission and commission. The solecism of "Runsted", in both text and index, and even in the quoted title of Blumentritt's biography, is not accidental. Lieut-General Sir Francis Tuker is twice Tuckered. And it is wise to exclude from a comprehensive bibliography both poetry and cartoons? Keith Douglas's *From Allenton to Zenn Zenn* is here, but his poems are also a telling document of war in the Western Desert. And cartoons: from the vicious character-assassination of the Belgian King Leopold in 1940 to the brilliant perceptions of Gile, the draughtsman, too, made documents.

Some omissions are serious. Under "BBC" it is staggering not to find the third volume of Asa Briggs's mammoth history *The War of Words* (1970), David Kahn's *The Codebreakers* (1966) was surely mandatory: as under "Montgomery" was his brother Brian's *A Field-Marshal in the Family*

(1973). Montgomery's life of Barnes Wallis and John Willett's of Colonel Penikese ("Popski") are essential reading: the achievement of neither is intelligible without them. And it is curious that while Mr Enser explicitly excludes fiction he mentions the pseudonymous Gun Buster's book *Return via Dunkirk* but omits Cyril Jolly's far more instructive *Take These Men*, a classic of the desert war.

Such complaints are the self-imposed burden of bibliographers, but they are less likely to be cast against S. L. Mayer and W. J. Koenig, simply because until their book appeared few people can have known even of the existence of many of the items. When Peter Fleming was writing *Invitation 1940* he was reminded that in 1798, when eyes turned across the Channel, the keeper of the State Paper Office was instructed to "discover what arrangements were made in the small print of this battle- Kingdom, when Spain, by its Armada, projected the invasion and conquest of England". Tradition, precedent, experience—the three themes are to be found encapsulated in the small print of this bibliography. For while all researchers must be grateful for the catalogued wealth of the great treasures—Churchill College, Cambridge, King's College London, Rhodes House, St Antony's College, Oxford, the House of Lords, the War Service, the Royal Naval Museum—these are in the main accessible and obvious sources for the students. The impressive facts about this compilation is its accumulation of references to the minor but fascinating material lurking in local archives. Of course we need to know where to find the papers of the pantheons, but for the social as for the military historian of the present, and even more of the future, it is also important to know what happened in Piddletrenthide.

So, turning the pages with serenity, one discovers from the First World War a "reminiscent from the residents of Hither Green to T. H. Fielding in appreciation of his work during air raids"; in the Chyd Records at Haverdon "papers referring to an anti-German riot in Stuy, 1915-16"; in the Record Office at Reading the "printed notice on the administration of Berkshire in the event of invasion". For the Second World War there are not only masses of letters from all fronts, but also the proud and moving local rosters of the Home Guard, and the reports of the way ordinary people coped with "incidents" diminutive by Dresden standards but staggering in the scale of the war. The major archives so carefully catalogued here illuminate men and events at the top: but it is, somewhere at the bottom, as a result of the authors' assiduity, that one gets the sense of the small of a country quietly breathing.

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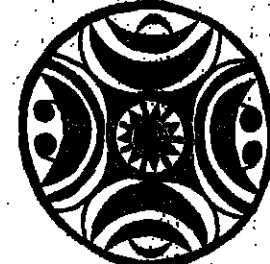
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An historian and an anthropologist have joined complementary skills to analyze the kinship system of an Asian people who possess an ancient literary culture. Based on their research in Bengali and Sanskrit and Bengali texts, the authors approach Bengali kinship through the categories and meanings provided by Bengali culture itself and shed light also on larger Indian symbolic systems. Expected September £10.85.



Harold D. Lasswell on Political Sociology
Dwaine Marwick, editor

These selections are organized around Lasswell's main interests: development in a contextual perspective; developmental constraints; political communications research; the use of psychoanalysis to explain political behaviour; and the role of intellectuals in policy-making processes. Expected October £15.40.

Human Fertility
The Basic Components
Henri Leroi

A revised and expanded translation of "Aspects biométriques de la fécondité humaine". In this innovative and comprehensive work, expanded by one third, for this English language edition, Henri Leroi integrates biology and demography to investigate human fertility, both natural and controlled. Leroi has formulated the first coherent overview of the functions of the human reproductive system in relation to the external conditions that affect fertility. Translated by Judith F. Helzlsouer. Expected December £13.30.

Tradition and Innovation
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Thomas S. Kuhn

These fourteen seminal essays span nearly two decades in the intellectual development of Thomas S. Kuhn, whose work has extensively influenced thought in the social sciences, history and the general culture as well as in the philosophy and sociology of science. early 1978.

Space, Time, and Gravity
The Theory of the Big Bang and Black Holes
Robert M. Wald

This is an elementary but scientifically sound introduction to such fascinating topics as the theory of the big bang origin of the universe and the enigma of black holes. All the important and basic ideas are described clearly, logically, and without irrelevant technical detail. Expected November £7.65.

Alaskan Voyage, 1881-1883
An Expedition to the Northwest Coast of America
John Adrian Jacobsen

This is a translation by Eric Gunther from the German text of Adrian Wald, published in 1884. It is a thrilling adventure story told by Jacobsen about his two-year expedition among now-vanished cultures to collect native artifacts for the Royal Berlin Ethnological Museum. Expected December.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

226 Buckingham Palace Road London, SW1

The record of the Admiralty

By A. J. P. Taylor

GERALD JORDAN (Editor):
Naval Warfare in the Twentieth
Century 1900-1945.
Essays in Honour of Arthur Marder.
243pp. Croom Helm. £6.95.

These essays are a worthy tribute to one of the greatest historians of the age. Arthur Marder has dedicated his life to the history of the Royal Navy in the twentieth century and has produced books that are both numerous and incomparable. The tributes start with a foreword by Admiral of the Fleet Lord Mountbatten of Burma who describes Marder as "a modern naval historian of the highest calibre". Among the essayists professional historians predominate over professional sailors by nine against four, but three of the academics were professional sailors in their time. Marshal of the RAF Sir John Slessor is the distinguished exception, belonging to neither category. The essays are also appropriately international—nine British, four American, four Canadian, and one Japanese. This is a galaxy of talent indeed.

The essays start, as Marder did himself, with the Royal Navy in the days of Sir John Fisher, that

enfant terrible who revolutionized the Royal Navy and launched those monsters, the all-big-gun ships, Rudeck Muckey and Paul Kennedy discuss the Anglo-German naval race before 1914. Both point out that the race was a mistake from Fisher's point of view. He anticipated the British public without destroying the supremacy of the British battle fleet. Tirpitz would have done better to concentrate on U-boats, the weapon that nearly brought Great Britain to defeat in both wars. For this matter Fisher would have done better to think more about submarines and less about battleships. For Fisher the line of battle was the overriding aim, and as late as 1912 the Admiralty set up a committee "to consider the tactics employed by Nelson at the Battle of Trafalgar". Only a civilian, Balfour, had doubts, remarking to Fisher: "The question that really troubles me is not whether our submarines could render the enemy's position intolerable, but whether their submarines could not render our position intolerable."

Two essays discuss the actual record of the Admiralty at war. Sir John Slessor surveys the battle of Jutland, as recounted by Marder, and describes it as "an almost appalling commentary on the basic inefficiency of the Service on which in those days... the survival of Great Britain and the Empire de-

pendent". The navy had a magnificent fighting spirit, but there was no higher strategic direction from Whitehall and the command of operations was inefficient. Sir John has praise only for Jellicoe and concludes: "Nelson himself could not have won battles if he had been as incompetently served by his subordinates as was Jellicoe." Turning to the Second World War Sir John insists that "in the new field of air warfare the record of the Admiralty does not stand up to examination". "The admirals were still obsessed with the idea of fleet action though memories of 1917 should have made crystal clear that the really mortal threat to our national survival was the U-boat." Sir John Slessor concludes that the navy was saved only when shore-based aircraft came to the rescue of the navy.

Sir Peter Gretton is a little more sceptical of this claim, as befits a vice-admiral. Sir Peter points out that Bomber Command repeatedly refused to release aircraft for the Atlantic, believing that the bombing of German towns was more important than "the loss of a few merchant ships every week". The situation changed only when Sir John Slessor took over Coastal Command, so perhaps airman and sailor are saying much the same thing from different points of view. Sir Peter Gretton also discusses the struggle against the U-boats during the First

World War. There, as is well known, the effective answer was convoy. As is also well known, the Admiralty refused to introduce the system. The War Cabinet faced defeat and in March 1917, discussed "the possibility of extending such moderate degree of military success which is likely to be achieved in order to secure a reasonable peace". In the end convoys were instituted.

What led to the change? According to one story, endorsed even by Marder, Admiral Duff of the Admiralty was converted solely by the facts of the situation. According to another version, the cause of the conversion was the knowledge that Lloyd George was about to descend on the Admiralty and impose convoy whether the admirals liked it or not. Sir Peter inclines to this latter view: "Duff knew that Lloyd George was determined to have a convoy system. I cannot believe that this doubtless repentance was entirely fortuitous." In conclusion Sir Peter delivers an evenhanded judgment: "The mistakes made and the obstinacy of the Admiralty greatly over-weighted in the First World War the delays of the airman in the Second."

Other essays discuss further the limitations of the Admiralty in the First World War: Robin Higham on the sad fate of the rigid airship, and Jack Gussow on the use or misuse of scientists. In a quite different field Sadao Ando illuminates the conflict between two leading Japanese admirals on the politics of naval limitation, demonstrating that the British and Japanese navies had much the same troubles. A particularly startling essay by William Brodeur sets out the war plans by the American army and navy during the 1930s. These plans were all designed for war against Red (the United Kingdom).

Red, probably in alliance with Orange (Japan), was expected to invade the United States in order to destroy American industry. The Red jumping-off ground would be Crimston (Canada): the invading Red force would be an army of eight million men. The fantasies that followed are too many to be catalogued here. This provokes a contemporary reflection. If the leading American generals and admirals could believe such nonsense about the United Kingdom in the 1930s, is it surprising that they attribute the most unlikely plans to Soviet Russia now? During the 1930s, the American navy forgot about Red and concentrated against Orange. In May 1936, the army

reluctantly accepted the conclusion that "war with Red is improbable, in so far as can be foreseen".

These strange debates had a consequence of immeasurable importance later. In a war against Red and Orange it was decided that the European enemy, Red, must be defeated first. When Germany took Great Britain's place as Japan's ally, the decision was maintained. Hence we owe the wise policy of defeating Germany first to a decision taken twenty years earlier to defeat us first. Such are the ways of strategists.

Barry Hunt and Donald Schurman also provide much of interest in their account of the slide to the raid on Dieppe in 1942. As the point out, this had little to do with the large-scale landings of previous wars such as the attack on the Dardanelles in 1915. Great Britain could no longer launch an overseas expedition unaided. Raids were something different, designed purely to harass the enemy and occasionally destroy radio stations or naval bases as at St Nazaire. Churchill had also a vision of "setting Europe ablaze" so that the conquered peoples would liberate themselves without great British sacrifices. This vision had faded by 1942. What remained was the determination to do something.

A landing in force seemed to be the answer. Plans were made, ships and men were accumulated. Obstacles mounted. Montgomery recommended that the operation be shelved "for all time". This "apparently wise counsel" was disregarded. The authors can find no clear reason why the raid was allowed to proceed. Perhaps Churchill wished to demonstrate to the Americans that the story of English school-building since 1870 is basically one of success, despite some bad troughs here and there. Indeed at no time has educational design enjoyed either such a high priority among architects or such a good press abroad as it does today. For this the administrators at the DES and their predecessors on the old educational boards deserve at least some of the credit, and it rightly follows that the book gives pride of place to their policies. Yet despite this concentration on decision-making, the authors refrain from any ideological stance. The nearest they come to a general conclusion is to lend historical weight to the Plowden report by

ARCHITECTURE

The academic side

By Andrew Saint

NICOLAI SEABORNE and ROY LOWE:
The English School
Its Architecture and Organization
Volume 2: 1870-1970
240pp. Routledge and Kegan Paul.
£15.

The story of British schools turns inside out during the Victorian period. Before then, their chronicler must gather and sift the scattered data, inspect the survivors, and from them elicit what he can about the pedagogic practice and theory of our forefathers. Subsequently, he deals with explicit directives on matters financial, curricular and even stylistic, emanating chiefly from a central source (later the Department of Education and Science), and he can merely leave the remorseless lump of institutional history by showing how far and in what way men and women of imagination have taken advantage of the regulations or triumphed over them.

This is perhaps why the second volume of *The English School*, albeit a handy and welcome piece of work which will be in demand among architects, educational specialists and (one hopes) bureaucrats for years to come, is a less enjoyable and inspired book than the first. In compensation, what does come across is that the story of English school-building since 1870 is basically one of success, despite some bad troughs here and there. Indeed at no time has educational design enjoyed either such a high priority among architects or such a good press abroad as it does today. For this the administrators at the DES and their predecessors on the old educational boards deserve at least some of the credit, and it rightly follows that the book gives pride of place to their policies. Yet despite this concentration on decision-making, the authors refrain from any ideological stance. The nearest they come to a general conclusion is to lend historical weight to the Plowden report by

showing that primary education has been deprived of resources in favour of secondary schools not for twenty-five years, but for a century.

It is in fact in the more loosely structured areas of primary schools that recent architects have most frequently shown their inventiveness. Some of the most illuminating parts of this book concern a conflict which seems relatively new now, but has persisted throughout this century, between two kinds of school planning, one of which affords plenty of specialist facilities but is prone to obsolescence, while the other provides cheap and simple areas that lack equipment but can serve most requirements. This conflict has been at the root of two major changes in school architecture during the past century, first from the rigid late-Victorian system of central hall with surrounding specialist classrooms to the healthier and more sprawling but equally structured single-story "pavilion" plans of the first thirty years of this century; and hence to the relatively chaotic but humane plans characteristic of post-war architecture. The former transition in particular is not well known, and is excellently discussed by Roy Lowe. It is interesting here to see the demand for better-ventilated schools coming in the Edwardian era not from central government or the cities but from the counties, notably from such heroes like George Reid, medical officer of health for Staffordshire, and his ally George Widdows, county architect for Derbyshire, who both faced heavy opposition from the Board of Education.

Though unfavourably strong on the organization of English schools, the authors are much weaker on questions of architecture. Part of the trouble seems to be that despite excellent plans the book is parsimonious on photographs, having sixty niggardly plates compared to 225 in the first volume, a book only third as long again as the second. Some of the exclusions are inexplicable. There is not a single view of any London school by E. R. Robson or by any of the talented architects whom he

brought in to help in the early years of the London School Board, and only a most unrepresentative example of the Birmingham work of Martin and Chamberlain, the other most significant school designers of the years following the Act of 1870. Edwardian school architecture is too often dismissed for the sterility of its neo-Georgianism; yet there is absolutely no reference to the two superb free-style schools by Sellers and Wood at Middleton, Lancashire, let alone to C. R. Mackintosh's Scotland Street Schools in Glasgow (though, to be fair, Scotland and Wales do not fall within the authors' brief). Public schools make a better showing, but Beaumont, Deddles, Dartington, Downside and Clugiswick are among the many which had a strong claim for illustration or at least a full mention. Among later war schools, such pioneers of early modernism as the Cray Valley Technical School at Slough (the influence of Gropius) or the Burlington School at Hammersmith (influence of Dudok) elude the authors. As for the variety of small Victorian rural schools, so copiously illustrated in the previous volume, their post-war sisters hardly put in an appearance.

Omission is an easy point of criticism, and it would be an invidious one if it were clear that the writers knew their architecture and were concerned only to show what was representative. But since they are admirably committed to dwelling on what was educationally adventurous, why not also to what was architecturally so? The judgment of Mr Lowe in particular, who takes the story up to 1939 (Mr Seaborne copes well with developments since) seems often a little suspicious. Robson, for instance, was not so set against open-plan schools as he supposes; and Dudok, whose remarkable and very influential Dutch schools hardly earn a mention, did not build in concrete but in brick. There are also omissions of local schools, and conditions on architectural questions. It is excellent to see this valuable work completed, but sad to see that it does not better serve the architectural diversity of modern English schools.

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Changing into slacks

By Jill Stephenson

ARTHUR MARWICK:
Women at War 1914-1918
176pp. Croom Helm, £6.95, Fontana paperback, £2.50.

Not without justification will people suspect that this is yet another edition of The Arthur Marwick War and Society Book. The basis of the text may conveniently be found—frequently in the author's *The Deluge* (1965), with additions from two of his subsequent works. Indeed, the comment about "the public smoking of the customary cigarette" by women now appears in three of his books. Professor Marwick has added to his earlier findings both the work of recent authors and a wealth of personal reminiscences from the documentary collection currently on view in the Imperial War Museum's exhibition on the same theme as his book—to which he was historical adviser.

Consistent with his view that historians could exploit visual sources more fully, Professor Marwick has chosen a fascinating collection of contemporary photographs which form a major part of his book, as the exhibition's captions, too, are of interest. For example, consecutive pages yield the following: "Two munitionettes at the Royal Arsenal, Woolwich. Note the wearing of slacks. Then, 'Members of the Women's Forestry Corps wearing khaki open fire. Note the wearing of breeches.' Followed by 'WAACs' bathing at Paris Plage, 29 May, 1918.' Perhaps he is correct in implying that their attire

defies description. The high standard of most of the photography well captures the urgency of the cycling postwoman, the poised discipline of the WAACs marching, the tranquillity of the Princess Victoria Rest Home for Nurses, Etampes.

Although styling himself a "more male" and referring sympathetically to feminist opinions, Arthur Marwick does not fall into the "more feminist than male" mentality of some modern historians. He sensibly proceeds from the point that "you cannot study the history of women without at the same time studying the history of men", his thesis being that the extent of women's work was much exaggerated until the Universal Conscription Act of May 1916 made it a large-scale, organized enterprise by withdrawing vast numbers of men from civilian employment. His conclusion is that "assessing the influence of the war on the status of women in England must include the tragedy and suffering which must balance shorter-term gains and losses against long-term ones."

The detail of women's work in varieties of industry, public services, medical services and as army auxiliaries is well chosen, from army over Britain. Not all shop assistants were as miserable as he suggests, and, on a point of fact, Emily Davidson died on Derby Day, 1913, not 1911. But he is graphic, and sometimes humorous, in invoking atmosphere—the horculean struggle of the miner's wife against unrelenting cold-dust, the rivalry between upper-class leaders of women's auxiliary organizations, the increasingly beleaguered fortress of unmitigated male chauvinism, and above all the perpetual preoccupation with sexual morals.

The master class

By Bruce Boucher

J. M. RICHARDS (Editor):
Who's Who in Architecture
From 1400 to the Present Day
368pp. Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
£8.75.

Given the number of reference works that cover the same territory, one may well ask in what lies the singularity of *Who's Who in Architecture*. It is, in fact, a dictionary of the 500 most important architects and designers of the past 500 years. The selection is further refined by calling from the 500 some fifty individuals whose contributions to architecture merit an extended essay. It is here that the strength of the book lies, for its editor, J. M. Richards, has assembled a formidable group of specialists to deal with everyone from Alvaro Siza to Frank Lloyd Wright. To condense the life and works of such figures into less than 2,000 words, coherently, is no mean feat, but *Who's Who* does just that. Anthony Blunt on Bramante, Howard Burns on Brunelleschi, Brian Knox on Gullmann, and Edgar Kaufmann on Sullivan—to cite only four examples—have produced thoughtful reassessments that bear several readings. The entries, major and minor, are enhanced by cross-references and there is a useful index. Important buildings are arranged according to countries so that one can find out who was responsible for the membrane roof of the Olympic Stadium in Munich or the monument to Vittorio Emanuele II in Rome. Occasionally, architects are lumped together without adequate explanation: Brunelleschi (1336-1508) is mentioned in passing under Nicolaus Pommis (1691-1773); for Erik Palmstedt (1741-1803) one is referred to Guarnaschelli (1885-1940)—in vain, as it turns out. Some quirks are, perhaps, inevitable.

able in a book of such scope and with so many co-authors. Two other fallings attract more notice and deserve comment. The criteria for selecting the 500 are broad enough to allow for engineers and planners of towns and gardens, but a rather artificial distinction has been made between practising architects and those whose influence on the course of architecture is not included here since the volume deals with men who built. If the logic behind this differentiation seems obscure, its application is even more so. Piranesi, whose architectonic (strangely not mentioned in the entry) had far less significance than his engravings, is in, while William Morris, certainly one of the most influential figures in the nineteenth century, is out. His omission leaves a gap in the coverage of British architecture, passing mention and cross-reference can hardly cover.

The second shortcoming of the book concerns the minor unsigned entries. They have been divided among several persons, each responsible for a country or a particular period within a country or group of countries. In many respects, the shorter entries pose an even greater problem than the extended essays. They vary in competence and inclusiveness, some of the seeming reminiscences of essays mugged up for an examination, with hoary clichés garnished by a few facts. Regrettably, those covering the Italian Renaissance are the least competent, and the generally sound standard of the rest of the book. Among other things, we are told that Leonardo "probably built nothing"; that an early example of Raphael's palace design is the "famous" Palazzo Cosimo Farnese's major work was Santa Maria Egiziaca. None of these statements can, in the light of recent scholarship, stand with-

out correction. Aberrations such as these do not make *Who's Who* a real improvement upon its prototype, the *Penguin Dictionary of Architecture*.

Comparisons with the *Penguin Dictionary* are as inevitable as they are invidious. *Who's Who* has had the advantage of relying upon the earlier books but in its own right it still remains with *Penguin*. Although none of its biographies contain the detail of *Who's Who in Architecture*, it ranges beyond biographical data to provide information on national schools, styles, and glosses of terminology—the absence of which is often felt in its competitor. The *Penguin Dictionary* probably benefited from a smaller editorial board, something which is reflected in the consistency and balance of its entries; moreover, its editorial board consisted of John Fleming, Hugh Honour, and Nikolaus Pevsner, who inevitably combine breadth of knowledge with a crisp and lively prose.

On one point, *Who's Who* can claim an unchallengeable advantage that increases its value sevenfold. Sir James Richards has assembled a remarkable collection of black-and-white and colour photographs; in variety and quality they are never less than first-rate. Among them are examples of glass and iron construction, ornamental design, and town plans as well as unexecuted projects. Unlike most books of this type, the overly familiar has generally been eschewed for fresher images. I am the editor's weakness for photographs of staircases, and am happy to see such a splendid one of the stairs at Harlaxton Manor, although William Burn, not Anthony Salvin, appears to have been its author (if the relevant volume of *The Buildings of England* is to be believed). *Who's Who in Architecture* may not quite be a necessity or the "invaluable work of reference" promised by its jacket, but an eminent panel of authors and some striking photographs make it a book difficult to resist.

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The Barge-Riders

A string of barges whose names are effaced,
Heavy riders of the bronzed tide,
Horse-coloured boat, wood rich as fruit cake,
The people within are people apart
Whose homes glide on the river.

You with your home clutching its bedrock,
Do you wish for an Oxford door, a Falmouth door?
The cities glide past on their business,
The lamps swing from the roof,
We live in rhythm measured by long waters.

It takes us a mile of broken glittering canal
To rein in for the lock-gates.

Peter Redgrove

and cabal. Miss literacy was irrelevant.

The classic Greek statement on the significance of written laws appears in Euripides's *Suppliants* (Woman). Once they exist, says Theseus (lines 433-7), in the translation by Frank Jones),

People of few resources and the rich Both have the same recourse to justice. Now a man of means, if badly spoken of, Will have no better standing than the weak.

And if the less is in the right, he wins Against the great.

The struggle to achieve those codes took place in Greece in the seventh and sixth centuries BC, in Rome early in the fifth century, periods in which not even the death penalty was capitalised.

I have repeated this perhaps apocryphal story in order to underscore the fallacy of much present-day discussion of ancient literacy that narrows the question to the number or proportion of the free population (or at least the free males) who could read and write. This misconception bears heavily on our understanding of censorship, and I shall therefore pursue it a bit further. To begin with, we must resist the temptation to treat drama as exceptional because even in our world few people read plays. All were, and indeed all but a few, were commonly read aloud and committed to memory, in snippets or even, with Homer, in full. Otherwise they were unknown outside a very small elite circle. That is why we have regularly read "writings," not "literature."

And not only belles lettres. Cicero tells us (*On the Nature of the Gods* 1.23.63) that when Socrates's contemporary Protagoras wrote an agnostic work, he was exiled from Athens and his books were burned publicly in the Agora. Other writers, however, were not. Some introducing a new touch, that Protagoras was drawn in trying to flee. The story is highly doubtful—Plato knows nothing about it. It is the sole reference in classical Greek context to the Roman practice of burning books as a form of official punishment. The story sounds more plausible in the version of Diogenes Laertius (9.5), that Protagoras read the offending work in public, perhaps at the house of Euripides. It remains dubious even then, but the greater plausibility comes from the accent on reading aloud in public: we remember, after all, that the one philosopher who was without any doubt put to death in Athens at that time was Socrates, and he never wrote a line.

When we turn from high culture to poetry and philosophy to more mundane matters of concern to the average citizen, there is a similar misjudgment of the significance of literacy. Much has been made by modern scholars of the introduction of written law codes and of the practice in democratic Greek communities, notably Athens, of inscribing enactments, decrees, laws and other public documents on stone tablets, displayed in places in which people normally congregated. But, as Eric Havelock pointed out, "One cannot build up a false picture of literacy as a kind of magic. Ordinary Athenians did not have to wonder about the city reading the texts of Assembly decrees or the laws of Solon. Their availability was sufficient; that is, they were expressed in the triumph of oral government against secrecy

and cabal. Miss literacy was irrelevant. The classic Greek statement on the significance of written laws appears in Euripides's *Suppliants* (Woman). Once they exist, says Theseus (lines 433-7), in the translation by Frank Jones),

People of few resources and the rich Both have the same recourse to justice. Now a man of means, if badly spoken of, Will have no better standing than the weak.

And if the less is in the right, he wins Against the great.

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upper classes, as Plato had Socrates contend in the *Apology* (32C). And that brings me back to an early point, namely, that what mattered was not merely the substance, the place and the person propounding censorable ideas but also, and equally, the person or persons being addressed.

In Socrates's Athens such rich young men were suspected of involvement in the partly clandestine anti-democratic clubs which brought off two oligarchic coups, in 411 and in 404 BC. In Republican Rome, in sharp contrast, they were scrupulous of the ruling oligarchy at a time when it is impossible, from this distance, to discern any threat to the structure of government or the locus of power. The fear was much lower and vaguer, but the censorship, including self-censorship, was more severe and effective. Cicero betrayed how profoundly Roman remained despite his Greek education when he suggested that the punishment of Protagoras was an effective deterrent to later generations of philosophers.

There was another context, religion, in which the audience to be cut off from dangerous thoughts was much larger and more representative than the young men of wealth and class who drank up the words of philosophers. Before turning to that subject, however, there are two more aspects of what I might call "elite censorship" to be considered. The first is the definition of "wrong places": until the later Roman Empire, the authorities, both republican and imperial, were content to drive out philosophers (as well as prophets and astrologers) from the city of Athens, or, in extreme cases, from Italy in Cato's day. To be sure, Greece was still more a satellite than a part of Rome, but the emperors pursued the same policy, though by then the men they expelled carried on their activities quite freely in the Roman provinces.

Second, the prominence of "foreigners" among the expelled, especially under the Roman Republic, is irrelevant for our purposes, whatever its cultural implications. It is the attitude as prolegomena to a Cato. Plato went out of his way to be explicit: "Worst of all," said his Anytus, "are the cities which allow them in and do not expel them, whether a foreigner tries to be a citizen. And among the Greeks, the most of the philosophers were senators of the best lineage."

I have for the moment jumbled execution and expulsions, as often happened in reality, but I must now separate them as we turn from philosophy to religion and cult. Polytheism by its nature tolerant within broad limits; it does not face the same problems of monopolisation with its exclusiveness, its orthodoxy and heresies. There were marginal areas in which the distinction became rather blurred, notably in the worry about the impact of foreign cults introduced into the community. Christianity no individual normally risked punishment for his religion among the Greeks or Romans unless he was charged with a specific act of impiety, such behaviour as the mutilation of a sacred image or scandalous mockery of religious rites raised few problems of analysis or interpretation. If we had any idea of their frequency, which we do not, interesting implications about ancient society might be drawn, but they would not come under the heading of censorship. They would rather fall within the category of taboos: the evidence is sufficient that prosecution and punishment by the authorities were not widespread or very public.

However, matters were not always so neat and simple. The justification for the punishment of impiety was that it either menaced the safety of the community or greatly offended public sentiment. Naturally, those in power determined what was a menace or an offence, and rulers and ruled were not always in agreement, as in Italy at the beginning of the second century BC, the Greek mystery cult of Bacchus, which featured a considerable streak of macabre, of ecstatic behaviour, spread rapidly through the peninsula; its followers were chiefly from the lower classes, especially among women, but also included middle and upper class men, as well as slaves and freedmen. The Roman ruling class took fright: the senate and consuls marshalled a massive police

operation to crush the cult not only in Rome but throughout Italy, east to the point of violating the delicately balanced relationship between Rome and her so-called Italian allies. Thousands, we are told, were executed.

Traditional Roman distaste for anything not sanctioned by "our forefathers" is evident in the affair, not unlike that which brought the closing down of the schools of anti-rhetoricians a century later, but it can scarcely explain the scale and savagery of the suppression. Nor does impiety or even some weaker form of offence against the Roman deities: that much was conceded by the provision that individuals might still curry on the cult if they insisted, on application to the praetor and formal permission by the senate, with the condition that no more than five persons take part jointly in the ritual. That qualification provides the key. In Livy's long account of the episode (39.1-19), filled with charges of lust, debauchery, forgery and poisoning—familiar enough in analogous situations both then and now—there is nothing of any substance to warrant the campaign of suppression. One might say that the young men, however, he uses the word "conspiracy," which he repeats frequently, hence the limit of five persons. And what was the supposed conspiracy? In a speech to the assembly the consul said, in Livy's words, "until the present, the conspiracy is restricted to private wrongdoings because it has not yet the strength to seize the republic." In other words, there was no conspiracy, there was no threat to public safety, there was a large and growing mass activity and that was enough.

Unrest, turbulence, whether real or imagined, turns out to underlie the entire history of official Roman actions against groups of people because of their religion (understood broadly enough to include the activity of soothsayers and astrologers), as distinct from the activities of individuals for specific acts of impiety. The initiative could come from above or below, that is to say, the persecution might be undertaken by the government out of fear of turbulence, as we have seen in the case of the Bacchantes, or it might follow popular unrest requesting it. The complicated history of the early Christians illustrates both possibilities. Until the empire-wide persecutions of the second half of the third century, under Diocletian, the persecuted individuals were localised in various centres of the empire and regularly bogan with public hostility by Jews or pagans. The Roman government, it is important to note, was requested by provincial governors, reflecting a local situation, to persecute from Rome and Italy with its indifference to their continued activity in the provinces. The notable exception, Nero's persecution of the Christians in Rome after the great fire of AD 64, does not upset the argument: Nero needed a scapegoat to quiet the dangerous unrest in the city induced by the fire. With Decius the roles were reversed: the initiative came from the emperors, the population at large seemed indifferent when not actually friendly to the Christians.

The Christians, like the Bacchantes and the others, were of course unofficial cult groups, but that is unimportant in this context. Throughout antiquity public and private cult coexisted. No licensing system, no registration or other form of official permission and control was required, unless the threat to public safety was alleged, as with the Bacchantes. The story of astrology at Rome offers a neat, and my final, case study. The search for knowledge about the future was an integral element of ancient culture, in every period and at every level of society. Public authorities consulted oracles and soothsayers and often had their own officials for that purpose, but simultaneously there were numerous individuals who practised privately as fortune tellers. Scipios like Thucydides may have sneered at them, but their popularity and their acceptance by both state and society were universal.

There was also an unenviable ambiguity about the soothsayers (well-known Thucydides in *Sophocles's Oedipus*)—secret knowledge of what would happen was both comforting and dangerous—and the astrologers at Rome epitomized both aspects. Although every Roman emperor was a devotee, there were also certain instances of the expulsion of astrologers from Rome (excluding

favoured individuals, of course) between 400 BC and the death of Augustus in AD 14, and there may have been half a dozen others. Without exception, the ancient sources attribute the banishment to "turbulence," "rebellion" or "plotting." Again we appear to have the familiar expulsion from the capital or, but not quite in AD 11 a law was introduced throughout the Empire forbidding diviners "to prophesy to any person alone or to prophesy regarding death" (Pio Cassius 56.25.5). No doubt the opportunity for private blackmail required governmental attention, but that was a minor concern. In the fear-and-conspiracy atmosphere of the early Empire, an inquiry into the date of the emperor's forthcoming death was enough to set off a chain reaction, and the prohibition was soon extended to inquiries into the well-being (status) of members of the imperial family.

There were further ramifications, which need not detain us, save one question: how effective was formal, official censorship in suppressing official astrology? The leading modern authority on the astrologers at Rome noted that the emperors never "banned astrological studies and theoretical research." They "only interfered with the professional practice of the craft and that only in times of special political tension."

That may also be said, with the appropriate modifications, of a whole range of disciplines. Mathematics, astronomy, biology and other sciences proceeded without noticeable interference. The heliocentric theory failed to gain support, that was not because the authorities denounced it but because the astronomers themselves found it unsatisfactory. Plato established his school in Athens within two decades of the death of Socrates and, so far as we know, it had an uninterrupted history of more than 900 years (until Justinian closed all pagan centres of learning in 529) except for one brief hiatus. In 307 BC, during one of the half-dozen desperate attempts to re-establish democracy in Athens following the death of Alexander the Great, a law was introduced requiring schools of philosophy to be licensed by the state. The measure was overtly political in intent: leading pupils of both schools, Plato's and Aristotle's, had shown an affinity for tyrants in the previous half-century. Nevertheless, the law was not enforced, and the schools continued to the capture of Byzantium by the Turks; that is all the sixteen centuries of existence awaiting it.

The change proves to have been much more far-reaching in the end. E. R. Dodds pointed out that "an intelligent observer, or about the year 200 BC would have been painfully surprised" to be told that Greek civilization was entering "a period of slow intellectual decline which was to last, with some deceptive pauses and some brilliant individual resurgences, until the capture of Byzantium by the Turks; that in all the sixteen centuries of existence awaiting it."

No other philosopher attracted so much dislike and hatred in antiquity: Epicureans were occasionally expelled from Greek cities and from Rome. His name became the Hebrew word for "atheist," an anthology can be compiled of the familiar nasty charges of immoral behaviour and social harm. Yet the emperor Julian, in letter concerning the emperor's plan for full-scale censorship, had to acknowledge the continued availability and circulation of the writings of Epicurus as late as the second half of the fourth century AD (Epistles 89.300C). As for the Stoics, targets of the early emperors, the crowning irony is that the last of them with a continuing reputation was Marcus Aurelius, the emperor in whose reign there occurred an unusually severe local persecution of Christians in Lyon and Vienne.

However, Tacitean exultation over the failure of censorship is not warranted. As the example of the astrologers at Rome reveals, censorship in the narrow sense was rarely exercised against writings, and then only if they contained a direct threat, real or imaginary, to a ruler or ruling oligarchy. The forbearance is not attributable to any notion of an inalienable human right of freedom of speech: no ancient state recognized so anachronistic a concept, not even Persia or Athens. If the state did not censor, that was only because writings as such were without sufficient effect. Teaching was another matter, and other forms of communication that led to "turbulence"; hence expulsion, not censorship.

Most often, genuine critical thinking evaporated in time anyway—if it came in the first place. It rarely did in Roman history. Consider the Stoics once more. No authority compelled the chief spokesmen of the Middle Stoa, Panaetius of Rhodes and Posidonius of Apamea, Greeks living outside Roman territory, to become the original Stoic ethos to a comfortable accommodation.

tion with the rapacious and expansionist Roman oligarchy; of their success, in AD 190, and further, to autocratic monarchy. By then, as P. A. Brunt, more sympathetic to Roman Stoicism than I am, concedes, "dictator and devotion had largely replaced inquiry and argument." Havelock said it with greater, more universal, content in his *Lectures on the History of Philosophy*: "All speculative interest was really lost, and a rhetorical or hortatory disposition shown, of which mention cannot be made in a history of philosophy any more than of our sermons."

The classical Greek experience is more interesting, and more intractable. Although one should not exaggerate *parrhesia* in practice, since few outside the educated elite took the floor in political debates or originated or even applied political office and legislation, nor should one ignore the harsher realities underneath the Euripidean ideal of equality before the law; nevertheless fifth-century Attic comedy and tragedy remain as unimpeachable witnesses. Comedy, in particular, was a phenomenon without parallel to my knowledge: at major public religious festivals, managed and financed by the state, the playwrights were expected to ridicule and abuse ordinary Athenians and their leaders, the very effort and any place of legislation that came to mind, as well as to treat the gods with an irreverence that few Sophists would have risked. Then, still in the lifetime of Aristophanes, a profound change occurred: comedy ceased to parade real people and events, and instead turned from its concern with public life. Why? The explanation certainly does not lie in formal censorship: no law forbade fourth-century playwrights from continuing the traditions of their predecessors. And nothing prevented fourth-century orators in the assembly and the law-courts from indulging in savage slander, without a touch of humour in it.

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The eyesore clinic

'Art into Landscape' is the rather strange title of the current exhibition at the Serpentine Gallery in Kensington Gardens (until August 14). It doesn't quite describe the content of the show, which consists of 151 ideas put forward in a competition (organized by the Arts Council with the RIBA, the Institute of Landscape Architects and The Sunday Times) to find ways of improving twelve very different selected sites throughout the country: a patch of land near Halifax by the River Calder with a great deal of evidence of industrial dereliction; a polluted stretch of the river Tees near Middlesbrough; a fragment of SLOAP (Space Left Over After Planning) by the side of a tower block of council flats in Coventry. Other sites include a sludgeheap near Durham, a traffic roundabout near Ware in Hertfordshire, the terrace in front of Glasgow's late-Victorian Kelvin Art Gallery, a wall in Sheffield, a desolate area in Lambeth, an old wharf at Rotherhithe, land belonging to British Rail at Stockton-on-Tees, and two parks: Pinner Park in North London and Kingsbury Water Park in Warwickshire.

Ideas were invited from professional architects and landscape designers and from laymen, including schoolchildren. From more than a thousand initial entrants the jury (Lord Esher, Mark Boyle, Ian Mair, David Rock and Tony Southard) selected 151 to develop their schemes—and these are the ones now on show in London.

The exhibition clearly demonstrates two things: first, that such a competition is a valuable way of releasing people's feelings about their immediate surroundings; second, that to organize a competition and exhibition of this elaborate kind on a national scale is almost too formidable a task. The show at the Serpentine, like the end-of-term display in a large art college, is impossible to assimilate and, like so many well-intentioned official exercises, simply not discriminating enough. I wonder whether the

Fifty years on...

In the TLS of July 28, 1927, John Middleton Murry reviewed John Livingston Lowes's *The Road to Xanadu: A Study in the Ways of the Imagination*. "No critical work of modern times more powerfully impresses us with the author's gifts of organizing invincible material," he wrote. "It is one of the few books that its illustrations swallow up its thesis."

Of all our great English poets Coleridge is surely the most abnormal and bewildering. One complex poem, one incomplete one, and a dream fragment, all steadily aflame with the light that never was on land or sea; and before and after, ungraspably failure and lamentation. An archangel's little damaged; the brow of a demigod, and the lips of sloth; the paradox of the poet was written on his features, as he himself sadly recognized. Yet there is, we instinctively perceive, a witness of relation between his achievement and his failure. The quality of all his great poetry is the quality of but a part of the great poetry of others. If we compare him with Keats, for example, who, except him, we can say that the quality of *La Belle Dame Sans Merci* or *The Eve of St Mark* is the quality of Coleridge; and, by the mere recognition, we realize how much of the great region of poetry lay beyond Coleridge's command. When we further remember that *La Belle Dame Sans Merci* came out of a terrible dreaming-time in Keats's life, and that he laughed at it, we cannot but wonder whether all Coleridge's great poetry had the same origin that was avowed for *Kubla Khan*. We are not suggesting optimism. Professor Lowes, rightly, reflects Mr. J. M. Robertson's theory that *The Ancient Mariner* was a work of lunacy. But we go further to believe that the source of both *The Ancient Mariner* and *Christabel* was dream.

Coleridge was an ambiguous being of a traffic roundabout. Among the most imaginative projects are those for the great terrace in front of Glasgow's art gallery. Perhaps the quality of the architecture was an inspiration here. The prize-winning "Amazing City" by Antony Voge and John Dunk turns the terrace into a forum of fragmented ruins from Glasgow's demolished buildings: an appropriate response to the ruin of one of Scotland's finest cities. More conventional but none the less very pleasing is Perry Zayadi's "Twelve plus two". He has designed a series of key-covered arches which, in the best tradition of formal gardening, complement the great building with a reflection of its own geometry. "Art into Landscape" is unquestionably full of good ideas. Next year professionals should be excluded and the idea of one grand London exhibition abandoned. There is no substitute for genius loci where landscape and art are concerned.

Colin Amery



The Wash House (detail), an oil painting by Ron Barnes of Stephen, in *The Greater London Picture Show at the University of London Institute of Education, 20 Bedford Way, London WC1, from August 3 to August 26.*

THE NEW TELEVISION A Public/Private Art

Douglas Davis & Allison Simmons, editors

This lively mix of provocative articles was the result of an international conference on video art held at the Museum of Modern Art in 1974. The book is illustrated with examples, on permanent hold thanks to the print medium. The roll-down of credits includes 36 prominent critics, commentators and artists. Published June £10.50.

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126 Buckingham Palace Road London SW1

Clowning glory

If you want to see the first *Comedy* Cur to tour the Far East (with a "curious jet propulsion, which alas, we cannot show"), a toll sent that becomes a harp, a gulf full of hearts and saucers, the *Flora* of Dronfield, and a cardboard cut-out of a self-sinking cow—India they used a goat—then hurry to Nottingham Castle Museum before September 4, where there are hundreds of other exhibits have been lovingly assembled to illustrate the history of clowning, from mummifying plays to *Betran* Mills.

Seldom, to judge from Arnold Rattenbury's absorbing catalogue (*The Story of English Clowning*), 70p from the museum), have hobby horses been ridden to greater effect. And not hobby horses only, but *Goosers*, *Teasers*, *Gullivers*, and *Hoppers*, *Poses*, and the *Sleight* *Plough* *Ridges*, and *Whimsies* throughout the world (they have West African masks to prove the point) which Mr Rattenbury speaks of as 'simple man-to-nature situations'.

Rustic fun made its way to the highest circles: Henry VIII used to burst into Catherine de Aragon's bedroom on May 1, accompanied by six frolicking lords. Here at court the rural buffoon met the Continental court jester, the blue-blooded side of the clown's pedigree. Similarly the broad hum of Southwark Fair, Northdown Lane, Nottingham Cause Fair (2s) did for the man playing the dragon with gunpowder. His for making a new dragon? met the *Commedia dell'Arte* tradition to produce its eighteenth-century Harlequinade: "Vulgarity becomes 'fash'" as the catalogue neatly puts it. This progression, and the contribution of the equestrian theatres which shaped the circus ring, are diversely illustrated with prints, posters, stage photographs, and clowning bottle-stoppers. Methodists turned Jones's *Amphibious Amphibious* into a Preaching House and drove its resident comedian to Salford's Wells. But in 1806 a mob of his admirers carried Joe Grimaldi from the Wells to Covent Garden for his second show of the evening. Grimaldi's costume, his acrobatic and technological tricks have now become big-top orthodoxy.

If you want to know more about Grimaldi, you can read Dickens's edition of his memoirs; for still more you will have to go to Nottingham: Dickens, says the team's catalogue entry for item 141, "and there severely, possibly, he was the material as it is in this letter." The best foreground barker couldn't imply more, or say less.

Whether it will be personally helpful to anyone who, on the one hand, might wish to take in this respect Foster's good intentions have been overtaken by history, and that there is plenty of personal testimony by honest homosexuals about—though they cannot believe that the closet is entirely empty, yet, and shyness and self-doubt have not disappeared from the face of the earth. But regardless of its value as testimony, Foster's life will have considerable interest as a sad piece of sexual history.

P. N. FURBANK:
E. M. Forster
A Life
Volume 1
272pp. Secker and Warburg. £6.50.
OLIVER STALLYBURASS (Editor):
The Abinger Edition of E. M. Forster
Volume 3: A Room With a View
217pp. £7.95.
Volume 3a: The Lucy Novels: Early Sketches for "A Room with a View"
132pp. £12.50.
Edward Arnold

"I am more interested in works than in authors," E. M. Forster once remarked in an interview. That is a properly literary, high-minded view—art before gossip—but how many readers share it? Obviously Forster thought not many: he may have believed, as he said in *Aspects of the Novel*, that curiosity is one of the lowest of the human faculties, but he knew that the low faculties are the common ones, even among people who read serious novels. And so, though he tried to preserve his privacy during his lifetime, he was willing that reticence should end with death: "When I die and they write my life," he told his friend T. E. Lawrence, "they can say everything."

In his later years Forster apparently came to feel not only that they could say everything, but that they should (after his death the story went round that he had rejected one possible biographer because he might be too discreet). The issue, as we know, was Forster's homosexuality. During his lifetime it had been covered from public knowledge by the blanket of his reticence; he had withheld publication of his homosexual novel *Maurice*, and he had circulated his erotic short stories in manuscript only among like-minded friends. His cautiousness is understandable, since the acts that he hinted at in these writings remained criminal offences until near the end of his life. But once he was dead, he wanted the whole story told, perhaps as an encouragement to other shy young men, perhaps simply because he disliked concealment. Whatever his motive, he would be pleased with this new biography. P. N. Furbank has placed Foster's mark to Lawrence on his title-page, as a sort of declaration of intent, and though he does not literally tell everything—this is not going to be one of those biographies that throw in every scrap of trivial information simply because the biographer has turned it up—he tells everything that matters, and tells it with frankness, sympathy, and unflinching tact.

Whether it will be personally helpful to anyone who, on the one hand, might wish to take in this respect Foster's good intentions have been overtaken by history, and that there is plenty of personal testimony by honest homosexuals about—though they cannot believe that the closet is entirely empty, yet, and shyness and self-doubt have not disappeared from the face of the earth. But regardless of its value as testimony, Foster's life will have considerable interest as a sad piece of sexual history.

Foster was a Victorian by birth, and in fundamental ways he remained one. The society in which he was raised was the society that sentenced Oscar Wilde to prison for "acts of gross indecency with a person," and it is not surprising that Foster, who was situated at the time of the trial, should grow up regarding his own sexual feelings as shameful and inexplicable: "However gross my desires," he wrote in his diary in 1910, when he was thirty-one, "I find I shall never satisfy them for the fear of annoying others. I am glad to come across this much good in me. It serves instead of purity." His mother obviously felt the same; when the local vicar, seeing Roger Fry's portrait of Forster hanging on the wall, asked Mrs. Forster anxiously, "hope your son isn't queer?" she immediately removed the offending picture from the house, as though it was evidence of some horrid crime.

It was from this sort of Victorian attitudes towards homosexuality that Foster had to free himself, and his efforts to do so give dramatic shape to this volume. I assume that it was for this reason that Mr Furbank elected to break his narrative at 1914: not because a European war had begun but because in Foster's own war with fear, inhibition, and convention he had begun to win a few small victories.

In a world of aunts

By Samuel Hynes

It seems clear that to Foster his sexual history was the most important aspect of his life story, and the one that concerned him most when he thought of what his biographers would write, but it was anything but the whole story; it is only in romantic fiction and pornography that the erotic life is the life. Foster thought about this matter in *Aspects of the Novel*: "How much time does love take?" he asked himself there, and decided that two hours a day was a handsome allowance. That seems more than handsome for his own first thirty-five years—unless love of mother and of Cambridge count. For certainly those years count, and very little love in the ordinary sense of the term, and even less love-making.

What they did contain was a life of depressing, pitiable dreariness—suburban, bourgeois, conventional, and quite empty of incident or interest. "Our life," Foster wrote in an early letter from Italy, "is where we sleep and eat, and sit and ate in Stevenage, in Tonbridge and Tunbridge Wells, and in Weybridge, among the suburban middle classes, in an atmosphere of aunts."

That atmosphere is rendered graphically in the genealogical chart that Furbank has placed preceding page 1. Horizontal lines, each representing one generation of one branch of the family, stretch across the double page, bearing suspended from them, like apples from a bough, the too-numerous names of Victorian marriages—the ten children of Charles and Laura Foster (including Foster's father) and the ten children of Henry and Louisa Whitchell (including his mother). This array of relations congeals into a dense, impenetrable mass. As time passed, the man died off—Foster's father at the age of thirty-three, when his son was less than two years old—but the women were indestructible: Foster's mother lived to be ninety, and the wife of his aunt died in 1915, when she was ninety-seven and her nephew was eighty. Nobody needs that many aunts and uncles, and one must surely reckon among the most powerful formative influences on Foster's sensibility the continuous presence of aunts.

In this company Foster's role was to play the child. "Lily appears to treat Morgan as if she's a child," his uncle Willie grumbled in 1900, when Foster was twenty-one, "pay his bills and won't even trust him to choose a pair of breeches. He loathes Tunbridge Wells and tea parties, which latter are all reserved for him he says. He is the only man present invariably and if there were any they wd. be quite as bad as the women." He concluded that "the boy wants country air and pursuits with genial pals." Perhaps he did; but what he got was the tea-party life, and more aunts.

The only respite from this life were his years at Cambridge, and his journeys to Europe, though not even Europe was always an escape: on his first year-long visit to Italy in 1901-02, he took Weybridge along, in the person of his mother; "it was," he remarked sadly, "a very timid outing." Later he managed a tour of Greece without her, and he spent a few months in Germany as a tutor. But except for these excursions he lived the life of an aunt in Surrey.

The young man who inhabited this drab life seems, when one considers him, a most unlikely artist; for surely art depends to some degree on experience, and what experience had he had? At the age of thirty he had never had a proper job, and could not imagine working life; he knew nothing about money; though he had fallen in love he had never made love to anyone, and he did not know how men and women did it; he had never known a father or a sister, he had apparently never known anyone

outside his own class except servants. Being a self-examining young man, Foster was aware of his limitations, and brooded over them; the diary entries that Furbank quotes are full of severe self-criticisms, and resolutions to improve himself. He habitually devoted New Year's Eve (which was also the eve of his birthday) to self-assessment; in 1904, the day before he became twenty-six, he wrote:

The truth is I'm living a very difficult life. I never come into contact with any one's work, and that makes things difficult. I may sit year after year in my pretty sitting room, watching things grow more and more, because I'm afraid of being remarked. ... And he made a number of New Year's resolutions, including "more exercise: keep the brutes quiet" and "get a less superficial idea of women"—neither, it would seem, carried out very successfully. Some years later he was in a similar state of depression. Though he was by then the author of four novels, he felt that he had dried up, and he entered in his diary the causes of his condition:

1. Inattention to health—curable. 2. Weariness of the only subject that I both care and can write about, the love of men for women & vice versa. Passion & money are the two main springs of action (not of existence) and I can only write of the first & of that imperfectly. Growing interest in the early novels. It is aimed at characters, particularly those who resemble Foster, such as Cecil Vyse, Philip Herrington, and Ricky Elliott, but more generally at any member of a class in which Foster could include himself—tourists, Cambridge intellectuals, bachelors, suburbanites. It is also aimed at the novel itself, as though Foster were saying "You can't take this seriously—after all, it was written by me!"

He could not do heroes, he could not do women, and he was ill at ease with happy endings. But there is another limitation of the style that is more damaging though it is less easily described. Irony, when it is self-directed, diminishes the work in which it exists, and Foster's irony was often self-directed. An excellent example, which Furbank cites, is Foster's little Italian sketch "Via Nomentana", in which he describes an evening walk in the Campagna, where he sees two young men walking with their arms round each other's necks, like David and Jonathan, or Orestes and Pylades, "always young, always beautiful, always together." It is a vision, a recapitulated homosexual love, but Foster cannot leave it at that; he must turn from the image of union to his own isolation, and he must treat the contrast ironically, caricaturing himself as a prima prima, as Furbank puts it, and concluding: "I was fortunate enough to catch a tram at once, and have not suffered from the evening air."

This is a particularly explicit case of Foster's irony directed against himself, but the same denigrating tone is evident everywhere in the early novels. It is aimed at characters, particularly those who resemble Foster, such as Cecil Vyse, Philip Herrington, and Ricky Elliott, but more generally at any member of a class in which Foster could include himself—tourists, Cambridge intellectuals, bachelors, suburbanites. It is also aimed at the novel itself, as though Foster were saying "You can't take this seriously—after all, it was written by me!"

With this self-denigrating irony there is always the other side of Foster's character, his sentimentality. "All I write is to me, sentimental," he wrote while he was at work on *The Longest Journey*, and that novel is the best example of what he meant, though any of the others would also provide examples. Sentimentality, in Foster's vocabulary, seems to have meant any intentional improvement of the reality that his ironic eye recorded—an effort by the artist to make people happier or better, to make endings tidier or more affirmative, to assert the presence of values where none were evident. It meant pretending that out there beyond Weybridge there was something called life, which characters suffered for, something a bit vulgar and philistine, perhaps, a bit ranting and loud ("possibly rant is a sign of vitality," he said in *A Room with a View*). This kind of sentimentality was evidently necessary to Foster's imagination; he had to assert that life was possible, even for characters like himself. But he did not pretend that this assertion was realistic: "As to seeing life as I write it," he remarked in a letter, "certainly I don't do that."

Irony and sentimentality, self-judgment and yearning, define Foster's first thirty years, and Furbank's account supports the feeling one gets from the novels that those years were all of a piece, one continuous process that one might call *The Making of an Aunt*. But in the years immediately after the publication of *Howards End* and a change in Foster's life occurred, with profound consequences for his art. The change began with a period of depression; having written a successful novel, Foster felt himself unable to write anything more. He was sick with an impossible play, "The Heart of Bosnia," and published one story, but his feeling of sterility persisted. Success seemed to have deprived him of his familiar fictional posture; he could no longer play the role of the well-adjusted young man ironically observing unimportant lives, including his own. At the same time, his private life was also depressing. He had fallen in love with a handsome Indian student named Masood, but when he confessed his love Masood said he had changed the subject. Foster's New Year's Eve assessment of his life at the

fact he could not and he had to make do with substitutes, spasms of sudden melodramatic violence like the subbing in *A Room with a View*, and patches of practical purple like the "rainbow bridge" passage in *Howards End*.

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Symbolists and intellectualists

By Raymond Firth

JOHN SKORUPSKI:

Symbol and Theory
A Philosophical Study of Theories of Religion in Social Anthropology
265pp. Cambridge University Press. £7.50.

The foundations of social anthropology, as a study of human thought and behaviour, need continual philosophical scrutiny. But philosophers, with two thousand years of Western scholarship behind them, have tended to be too preoccupied with fundamental questions of knowledge and meaning, of the nature of language, of reason, of reality itself, to bother about peripheral problems of concepts from remote exotic cultures with very different traditions. Until recently it has been left to anthropologists to take the initiative in examining the underpinnings of their reasoning. Some may argue that our work has profited by a cheerful indifference to epistemological issues. But it can hardly be denied that a lack of philosophical sophistication has often led to results being more loosely formulated than is desirable for general understanding.

Historically of course the writings of philosophers have had considerable influence on social anthropology. In Britain some anthropological ancestry can be traced as far back as Adam Ferguson and other Scottish moral philosophers of the eighteenth century, and other countries have their parallels. Of prime importance to social anthropology have been the philosophical interests of the closely knit French intellectual tradition represented by the writers of the *Annales* and continued in new bursts of brilliance by their successors. For British social anthropologists it was largely a matter of borrowing and adapting ideas from philosophers at a distance, rather than being in direct contact with them. In this instance, regarded Bergson and Pareto as useful subjects for treatment in a history of theories of primitive mentality. But there was some first-hand contact, as with Lévy-Bruhl, or when Malinowski, Evans-Pritchard and the present reviewer took part with Morris Glickberg and others in London seminars conducted by L. T. Hobbes.

Recently there has been more lively cross-fertilization. In Britain soon after the war philosophers began to take an interest in comparative moral values. *Experiments in Living*, the Gifford Lectures for 1948-49 by A. MacIntyre, showed the reflections of a philosopher upon the nature and foundations of ethics or morals in the light of recent work in Social Anthropology. About the same time Morris Glickberg's anthropologically oriented essay on 'The diversity of morals' explored the extent to which Glickberg's thought could influence conduct and judgment in a variety of social conditions. Working more directly in connection with social anthropologists (mainly in Manchester), and more broadly, Dorothy Emmet produced some stimulating contributions to the study of what she described as 'institutional man'. She examined some of the basic methodological assumptions of anthropology, and asked how far structuralist could make account of individuality and she inquired into the office of prophet as an example of the 'social anthropology of vocation'.

Dovey's interest in social anthropology itself has aided the recognition of where philosophical inquiry can be useful — where anthropologists are continually making statements about what people in alien societies do, think, know, and believe. Some anthropologists, such as John Bate or Ernest Gellner, have brought their previous philosophical training to bear upon issues in their present discipline. Others have dived straight into deep philosophical waters, as Rodney Needham has done in using some of the concepts of phenomenology (the 'phenomenological' expression) to

sustain his investigation into the nature of belief. Social anthropologists have long been aware of their critical position as selectors of problems, observers, recorders and analysts of verbal and non-verbal behaviour. But more direct confrontation with questions about 'the nature of thought' (especially anthropology) was about the language in which such thought is expressed in different types of society has brought home to anthropologists the lack of clarity in some of their basic categories and assumptions. There have been some valuable contributions from philosophers interested in the social dimension of thought, to mention only W. V. O. Quine's concern with the semantics of reference, or Marjorie Grene's exploration of the notion of person.

Now some philosophers are not merely content to illustrate their argument with occasional anthropological exemplars, but seek to grapple actively with anthropological propositions, and explore the strengths and weaknesses of these by direct scrutiny of the source materials. The present work by John Skorupski, a lecturer in moral philosophy at Glasgow University, has such an objective. It is a full-scale effort to examine and clarify various ideas put forward by social anthropologists about magic and religion, mainly in the context of what is termed traditional thought. Most of the anthropologists cited are British, and the ethnographic coverage is largely African. But the author has also drawn on the work of other anthropologists and has commented on them with discretion. Though abstract, the argument tries to temper the wind of philosophy to the shore land of anthropology. At one point the author admits to 'observing artificiality by imposing philosophical theories of meaning to approaches in social anthropology'. He also recognizes a technical discussion of E. B. Taylor's well-known 'taboo' is 'indefinitely' of value to an anthropologist on 'relativism and rational belief', on the grounds that it belongs more to 'pure philosophy' than does the rest of the book. It may be not inappropriate therefore for an anthropologist to review the book, though a review by a philosopher could be very different.

Symbol and Theory is divided into three main sections: on the general framework of interpretation; on the nature of ritual action; and on the merits of intellectualism as a mode of interpretation of religion. A contrast between tradition and modernity outlined in the first part, is pursued later in terms of relation between Western scientific thought, contemporary Western Christianity, and traditional African village religious thought. Two opposed approaches to religion are identified — the intellectualist approach indicated at an early date by E. B. Taylor and J. G. Frazer, and the symbolist approach, with ancestry particularly in Durkheim. Variations on the symbolist theme are illustrated from the work of Evans-Pritchard, John Bate, Edmund Leach, Geoffrey Lienhardt and others.

Dr Skorupski's differentiation of symbol from an intellectualist approach in three ways: it sees, he says, sharp distinction between the 'literal' meaning of magical and religious discourse and action from their symbolic meaning; it 'decodes' ritual messages by relating them to social structures; it little concern for the causes of the overt surface form of ritual beliefs.

In a realignment of this argument, a distinction is also drawn between anthropocentric and cosmocentric views of religion. In the former conception the symbolically expressed object of primitive religion is man in society; in the latter, what is symbolized in primitive religious notions are natural forces and natural phenomena. Such themes are familiar to anthropologists, but what is unfamiliar and some-

times quite shocking, is the author's ordering of the argument and his idiom. In passing, he also makes some interesting comment, through Peter Winch and Wittgenstein, on the theme of translation and understanding. Here he takes opportunity to affirm his own position about the criteria of intelligibility in regard to magic and religion. He argues that any set of factual beliefs which asserts some sort of system of empirical regularities in the world is thereby necessarily subject to the same overall requirements of rationality.

This view runs through the main body of the book. Here is an exploration and critique of an intellectualist approach which tends to see traditional thought, including magical and religious beliefs, as essentially grounded in efforts to comprehend, explain and control the natural environment. The intellectualist position in anthropology has had a long and distinguished history in Britain. Popularized by Evans-Pritchard from his lectures in Cairo more than forty years ago, the label was applied disparagingly to the Taylor-Frazer interpretation of magic, by which primitive man had reached his conclusions about the efficacy of magic by rational thought in much the same way as men of science reached their conclusions about natural laws. As used by Evans-Pritchard, and his colleagues, the label was descriptive rather than categorical. But as the rationality of scientists has become more questionable, the rationality of primitives has become more plausible. So with the philosopher, Jurie and the anthropologist, the label has become a slur, rather than a description of different routes — the intellectualist route is once more in the fray. Intellectualism has become a technical term in anthropology, not only in philosophy. Grave sentences who have regarded themselves as devoted to understanding by the power of reason have been somewhat taken aback to see themselves labelled 'the intellectualist establishment'.

The situation is complex. One of the most articulate exponents of an intellectualist position, Robin Horton, is dedicated to African life as he himself lives it, because of its intensely poetic quality and his vivid enjoyment of its actuality, unmarred by faith in progress, intellectualism? But linked with this is his conviction that African religious ideas have been misunderstood, even by those anthropologists who have studied them at first-hand. The 'rationalist orthodoxy' of these anthropologists, Dr Horton holds, is symbolist. But he argues that African systems of traditional religious belief, including concepts of spiritual beings, should be 'taken at face value'. They should be regarded as theoretical systems intended for the control of space-time events. In line with this idea, he rejects the view that religious and scientific thought are fundamentally incommensurable. He recognizes a dozen or so attitudes in which they differ — in testability of theory and openness to revision, in admission of alternative explanatory principles, and so on. Yet he sees the common ground between African traditional thought.

The views of Dr Skorupski on the merits of intellectualism in anthropology have been formed largely, as he himself makes clear, in friendly dialogue with Horton. But not being directly involved in the profession, Dr Skorupski has been able to be more judicial. In his final summary he finds the case for intellectualism stronger, but he clearly inclines towards it and he holds that an acceptable alternative remains to be worked out. In particular, he is critical of what he sees as the major alternative — the various kinds of symbolic approaches. Though they have produced 'real' insights in the study of religious rites, magical techniques, ceremonies and initiation codes in many societies, symbolic approaches can be shown to

have major deficiencies. Some of their very interesting material can be accommodated within a realist or intellectualist account — these terms tend to be nearly synonymous.

But on the whole, he states, symbolic interpretations refuse to take traditional assertions about the meaning of magical and religious performance at face value. They assume a kind of 'more knowing than thou' attitude towards the traditional performer — a phrase the author's more elaborate analysis. Dr Skorupski comments on a gently ironic note: 'Anthropologists influenced by the symbolist approach have, I think, been less puzzled than they should be by the notion that a belief or practice can have a symbolic meaning which those who share it do not know it to have.'

The concept of symbol itself, as used by social anthropologists, has remained 'remarkably unclear', argues the author. His own treatment of it distinguishes between denotative meaning and representational meaning. Only the latter, he holds, is appropriate to the idea of symbol. He further deals with the awkward problem of whether or not a symbol is an arbitrary representation of the thing symbolized by calling in H. P. Grice's distinction between 'natural' meaning and 'non-natural' meaning — the latter being assigned by convention. On this usage, he holds, symbols can have any degree of arbitrariness. (But how far is this a shift of problem rather than a solution? Moreover, Dr Skorupski insists that we do not think in symbols about the thing symbolized; the symbols themselves are made objects of thought.)

From this point of view the structure of symbolic action is such that it represents or enacts an action in which the symbol plays the part of the thing it represents. In other words, the author in effect equates symbolic action with mimetic action. He emphasizes the important and specific insight which he thinks is contained in the idea of magic as symbolic (mimetic) action. But he warns against the 'sententious vagueness' of statements about the general place of symbolism in human life. His restrictive definition of symbol, which he holds to be his rejection of much of an interpretation of religion and allied matters in philosophy. Grave sentences who have regarded themselves as devoted to understanding by the power of reason have been somewhat taken aback to see themselves labelled 'the intellectualist establishment'.

The author points out that a symbolist approach in social anthropology ordinarily operates with a concept of 'ritual'. This is treated as procedures of non-empirical, non-instrumental, expressive, representative kind. He regards ritual as an 'over-elastic blanket term'. By contrast he would treat religion, magic and science as analytically separable. He gives no simple definition of these categories, in a procedure which only one student of Malinowski can sympathize, he holds that it is a mistake to think that a theory of magic or religion must begin with a definition of what the terms mean. Such definitions, if taken strictly, are often completely off the mark of the anthropological author's own usage — 'though this matters little, since the part played by the definition is usually purely ornamental'.

Dr Skorupski's separation of these three categories broadly follows what has been at various times the usage of some anthropologists. But he comments that discussions of the relation between magic and science have tended to be unproductive — giving, as an example, Evans-Pritchard's celebrated criticism of Frazer. He holds that 'present-day intellectualism' has made a step forward by broadening the basis of comparison — by giving an account of the systems of thought to which the logic and experimentation of science are applied, and by comparing scientific and traditional cosmologies in terms of the ways in which they deploy their theoretical concepts and constructs and use models and analogies. He thinks apparently that 'symbolist' writers have tended to concentrate on modes of action rather than modes of thought and have therefore left the implications of their concept of religion as an exposed flank for the intellectualist critic to probe.

Dr Skorupski does not go all the way with Dr Horton. For example, Horton has argued that some forms of paradoxical thinking akin to 'mystical participation' must be tolerated whenever experience is interpreted in terms of a theoretical explanation. Skorupski argues that no such paradox is generated by the application of scientific theory to everyday experience. He continues in interesting fashion to examine the apparent conceptual anomalies to be found in African traditional religions, not by comparison with scientific thought as Horton does, but with Western religious ideas. He points out that certain Catholic doctrines have apparent conceptual paradoxes of a 'recognizable Lévy-Bruhl character'. Recognition of this is not novel to social anthropologists. But in an elegant exposition Dr Skorupski shows how the use of scientific theory is its intelligibility — to us: whereas a doctrine of mysteries in the strict Catholic sense opens a fundamental breach between the signification of a proposition and its intelligibility, least human intelligibility. The author lays great emphasis on the notion of theory. He maintains that whereas in the earlier version of intellectualism, theories Frazer stressed the significance of law — the regularities of practice and expectation in traditional performance — Horton has stressed *theory* as a key concept.

'Theory' is a critical term for Dr Skorupski. By it he means a system of beliefs elaborated to characterize and explain experience, but whose details of reference goes beyond what is given in experience. In the pattern of explanation which aligns traditional cosmologies comparatively with modern scientific findings 'as being in the same business of explanation and control' — 'theory' is a central notion. Given the critique of symbolist modes of approach in social anthropology the title of this book, one might almost conclude, could have been *Not Symbol but Theory*.

For many anthropologists, and perhaps for general readers too, the book will present some problems. The argument, though often pointed and vivid, is elaborate and sometimes laboured. The re-sorting of anthropological ideas into the correct philosophical boxes sometimes makes one wonder (and this is true of these ideas is not helped by the absence of a subject index).

There are problems arising from the postulation of a 'symbolist' position. Apologetically, the author moves at a very early stage from the basic concept of 'symbol' to 'the symbolist' (to give him a convenient label). But already the 'him' betrays a tendency to identify intellectual positions with conceptual protagonists. (And feminists will note that there is no blurring of the argument by any manly-mouthed 'him or her'.) Now we recognize 'the symbolist' as a description — not as the practice of a position marked by a systematic interest in studies of human thought and behaviour. In various types of society, 'the symbolist' is 'the intellectualist' — 'the realist' — 'the anti-intellectualist' — there is a further dilemma. Are these terms representative of positions which passively do not subscribe to realism or to intellectualism respectively, or ones which are actively opposed to such viewpoints?

The situation is illustrated by a passage cited by the author from Ernest Gellner: it is described as having a 'non-intellectualist' emphasis. Is this term, rarely used by Dr Skorupski, just a lapse and equivalent to 'anti-intellectualist'? Or does it signify an intermediate, more benevolent category of thinker, not sharing the characteristic intellectualist ascription of 'logical priority' to explanatory goals of magic and religion, but admitting such goals as the complex purposes which magic and religion serve? If so, many social anthropologists put into the 'symbolist' category could, if their arguments were carefully dissected, be put into a non-intellectualist rather than an intellectualist category. At one point he even gets 'the cosmocentric symbolist' who, as the author blithely admits 'is of course a construct: no known (to me) anthropologist has ever claimed to be a cosmocentric symbolist'. But what is the point of understanding that as a philosopher, the author is concerned to explore

the logical inferences from stated abstract positions, independent of persons who may or may not hold such positions. But when the labels are attached to persons even by way of illustration, it is hard to avoid a sense of the statements which as a matter of fact they have actually put forward.

The book makes great play with the view that functionalist anthropological accounts of religion and magic have failed 'notoriously' to distinguish between the purpose, point or goal of institutions and their social effects. Writing from a functionalist perspective, anthropologists have never indicated how any of the acutely observed effects of magic-religious beliefs are relevant to explaining the origin and persistence of magic and religion in society. The author is correct. But while anthropologists in fact have often given reasons why magical or religious beliefs and practices seem to persist in a society, they have been much more chary of pronouncing on origins, for which the evidence is much more speculative. Not to put too fine a point upon it, they tend to regard much of the talk about origins of magic and religion, which in terms of explanatory goals and problem-solving, or of less intellectual reasons, as attempts to put up a screen of abstract argument in front of assertions, for which empirical data are largely lacking.

The characterization of the intellectualist position itself seems to leave one issue obscure. Its essence is that, before anything else, religion is an agency-based cosmology developing out of a this-worldly search for understanding and control. But what is the status of the 'spiritual beings involved in this cosmology'? How literally and how completely should one accept an argument that African concepts of spirits and gods are to be taken 'at face value'? Sometimes Dr Skorupski appears to put these spiritual beings in an 'as if' category vis-à-vis the external observer: the African believes them to be true; the observer accepts this attitude and accordingly conforms to it, empirically, when attending African religious ritual or speaking with believing Africans, but he does not himself give intellectual credence to their ultimate truth-value. He holds that the truth-value of these ideas is not helped by the absence of a subject index.

By 'realism', he states that he means 'scientific realism', that is, the view that the apparent reference made to unobservable entities in theoretical discourse is genuine in that in expounding a theory one commits oneself to the existence of such entities. And he further holds that no satisfactory theoretical classification of religious behaviour can be attempted until it is clearly recognized that it is a *fact* that 'religious rites are social interactions with authoritative or powerful beings within the actor's social field'. But are these beings within the actor's actual social field, or within a work of fiction? It may be that all this is part of what the author has called 'stratigraphically philosophical' argument. Certainly he is entitled to claim that pronouncement on the truth-value of African beliefs in spirits is none of his business. But if any student of anthropological theories of religion holds that spiritual beings are independent of the thinking of the religious believer, then any critique of a symbolist position may seem justified on logical grounds from the start.

At an early stage of the book the author states that there is a sharp division between philosophical issues and issues of general social theory. In my view this claim is sustained by the author's arguments. Anthropologists may differ as to the value of the conclusions, but they should pay careful attention to the form of the inquiry. If at times it seems to be too constricted, and too relentlessly critical, it makes every effort to be understood, logically rigorous, and uncompromising in its demand for more imaginative exploration of the field of religion. Workmen from many disciplines are contributing to the erection of structures in this field. If this particular carpenter sometimes seems to be too hammering, rather than a philosopher, he is very much to be commended for his square on the head.

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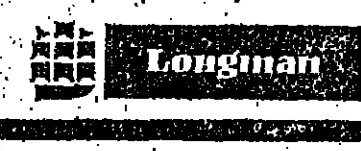
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WILDWOOD HOUSE
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Town and country people

By Paul Streeton

MICHAEL LIPTON:
Why Poor People Stay Poor
Urban Bias in World Development
467pp. Temple Smith. £9.50.

Beatus ille, qui procul negotiis
Ut prisca gens mortaliū
Futura rurae pubes exerceat suis
Solutus omni faxe.

Horace's praise of the country life, its rustic morality, its simple life, its untroubled freedom from urban cares, its self-sufficiency, its fusion of personal morality and moral aesthetics, is a eulogy to the rural idyll, until in the last four lines it becomes evident that the speaker is a Roman usurer who has no intention of going to the country and is, indeed, at the moment engaged in collecting his money in order to lend it out again.

The splendid epode illustrates perfectly Michael Lipson's thesis of deep-seated, all-pervading urban bias, sanctified by an idealized picture of rural life, inspired not only by Roman but also by English, French and German poets. Shelley's "unacknowledged legislators"

Professor Lipson's excellent "note on the Pastoral and Populism" in which he shows how the rural idyll has been convenient to the urban classes because it reduces both rural demands and urban guilt, is embedded in a massive, scholarly analysis of the reasons for the failure of development. He begins by saying that, in spite of the current prevalence of gloom, the development efforts of the past twenty-five years have been highly successful by conventional and historical standards. After centuries of stagnation in the Third World, income per head has roughly doubled since 1950. And Professor Lipson shows that behind the abstract statistics there is real development, reflected not only in factories and dams, but also in falling infant mortality and rising literacy and life expectancy.

The pessimism prevails, however, because economic growth appears to have done little for the poorer half of the Third World's rapidly growing populations, the majority of whom live and work in the countryside. The figures, particularly those for rural populations, where non-monetary, non-recorded activities prevail, are very unreliable but, for what they are worth, suggest that the poor in some countries, mostly large urban populations, are better off. Taiwan, Korea, Singapore, Hong Kong are examples. But in Brazil, their real income per head is estimated to have grown by less than 1 per cent in the 1960s, while that of the richer half has grown by over 30 per cent. In almost all the large, poor countries of Asia (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Indonesia and the Philippines), there has probably been stagnation or decline in the living standards of the rural poor. In absolute numbers, there are many more poor, and it is doubtful whether the proportion of

the poor in the total population has declined.

Though some of this is controversial, Professor Lipson produces one piece of clinching evidence. Food consumption in poor countries has risen much less than it would have done if the poor and hungry had shared significantly in income growth. The doctrine according to which agriculture must be squeezed to produce marketable and investable "surpluses" for industry has sanctioned both the literal starvation of the countryside and its starvation of funds and other resources (doctors, teachers, administrators), which would have both shown higher returns and promoted greater equality.

This brings us to Professor Lipson's central thesis. "The most important class conflict in the poor countries of the world today is not between labour and capital. Nor is it between national and international interests. It is between the rural classes and the urban classes." A strong thesis, to the proof of which he devotes the greater part of this book. The immediate objection is that there are plainly rural, rich sources and urban poor exploited. The test of Professor Lipson's thesis is, then, how he explains these two phenomena.

He argues that the urban rich "buy off" part of the rural elite by input subsidies to tractors and tubewells, so that they are content to sell their produce cheaply. Rich farmers, because they sell to and invest in the cities, are favoured by urban-biased policies. "Industrialists, urban workers, even big farmers, all benefit if agriculture gets squeezed, provided its few resources are steered heavily subsidised, to the big farmers, to produce cheap food and raw materials for the cities." On the other hand, the urban unemployed are "fringe villagers", writing until penury forces them back to the land and living on the edge of casual work on their rural relatives; or the urban poor are "engulfed villagers", gradually surrounded by the sprawling city. Urban immaturity and poverty (the "engulfed" are the result of urban bias, for equality of cities is impeded because the farm sector would be unable to deliver the food that better-off urban masses would buy).

The argument is ingenious and brilliant, but it is reminiscent of the reply given by Dr Karl Löwen, the notoriously but-Austrian style—unusually antiseptic mayor of Vienna between 1897 and 1910. (a reply later wrongly attributed to Goering), when charged that some of his best friends were Jews: "It is for me to determine who is a Jew!"

Recent work has pointed to the need to refine the Arthur Lewis two-sector model (rural-traditional and urban-industrial) to a three or four-sector model, adding at least one "informal" sector in the towns and one "commercial" sector in the countryside. Professor Lipson's research leads back to the two-sector model, except that he stands Lewis on his head (or, as Marx claimed to have done to Hegel, back on his feet again).

There are Keynesians and

Marxians even in explaining the relation between interests and ideas. Keynes attributed the errors of "practical men, who believe themselves quite exempt from any intellectual influence," to "some defect of vision." He thought "that the power of vested interests is vastly exaggerated compared with the gradual encroachment of ideas". Marxians believe that it is the power of class interests that is reflected in ideas. Only in this sense is Professor Lipson a Marxian. He does not believe that it is adherence to wrong economic doctrines that has led governments to subsidize industrial capital equipment, support high urban wages, overvalue exchange rates, raise the costs of farm inputs by protecting domestic industry, lower the prices of farm outputs and shift its processing, like grain milling, into the cities. The doctrines of Nurkse, Prebisch, Singer and Rosenstein-Rodan are merely the ideological superstructure, reflecting the powerful class interests of the urban industrialists and their works.

Yet Professor Lipson's indictment of import-substituting industrialization does not carry complete or per-

haps universal conviction. Could it not be argued that it was a brilliant social invention to overcome obstacles in the path of development, such as the difficulty of taxing the exporters of primary products and the weakness of the domestic entrepreneurial class? One need not even assume an intentional plan, though once the incidence of the policy had become clear, the dominant groups attempted to over-exploit it. How else cut an embryonic industrial sector be financed than by "surpluses" from agriculture (and trading)? As industries developed, they could, and as Professor Lipson shows should, later, draw on their own profits and contribute to export earnings. The attempted transition from the policies that protected the infant industrial sector to those that made it stand on its own feet (devaluations, dismantling of exchange controls, tax reforms, public enterprise, free cost pricing, growth of capital markets) has not been an easy one, and Albert Hirschman has suggested it as a candidate for the underlying cause of the installation of authoritarian regimes in Latin America.

Professor Lipson's argument

Top and bottom people

By Charles Madge

ANDRÉ BÉTEILLE:
Inequality Among Men
178pp. Oxford: Blackwell. £6.50 (paperback, £3.25).

The ideal of equality, and the persistence of inequality, are never far from view in the modern world. Traditional hierarchies of status and power are reinforced or replaced by socio-economic groupings, Marxist classes, post-revolutionary "new classes" and so on. Hydra-headed inequality has been struck at, time and again, but has never been abolished—perhaps never will be. But while one may suspect, without being reactionary or biased, that it will always be with us in one form or another, it is both pessimistic and presumptuous to suppose that particular inequalities can never be reduced. The odds are that, unless continuous war is waged on them, the sum of inequalities will increase.

When André Bételle was invited to contribute to the *Pavilion* series, he tells us in his preface, the only conditions made were that the book should deal with a significant subject and that it should be written as not to baffle the general reader. There can be no question that inequality is a highly significant subject, now that Professor Bételle can write intelligently and clearly. He had already, in 1969, edited a reader on *Social Inequality*. As Professor of Sociology at the Delhi School of Economics he was predisposed to take a wide comparative view. In the event, however, the subject has proved not easy to encompass within the

aim format of this series. Even the "general reader" will come away from it a little disappointed. Is this really all that an experienced social scientist can find to say on so major a theme?

When I reviewed Professor Bételle's *Six Essays in Comparative Sociology* (1975), I thought it somewhat insubstantial and lacking in comparative dimensions. *Inequality Among Men* is a much better book, making more comparisons and working through their implications to more original effect. "The major civilisations of the past were all hierarchical by design," he says, and his illustrations, as one might expect, are from the Indian caste system. As extreme cases he cites certain Bengali Brahmins, the Kulis, who asserted their superiority by practicing polygamy on a massive scale. Some among their number devised the *Mei* system, "an attempt to contain each kind of fault within a particular confraternity or *mei*... Thus, those who were tainted with the fault of addiction to alcohol were to constitute one *mei* and to marry only among themselves... In this way thirty-six divisions are believed to have been created, and they were broadly graded in inverse relations to the gravity of their faults." This hyperboly of hierarchy, with its luxurious detail, is perhaps characteristic of India, where you will always find a subdivision within a subdivision.

From such hierarchies of status he turns to structures of power, taking as examples the Zulu under Shaka (described by Gluckman), the Third Reich under Hitler (here he draws on Franz Neumann's *Behemoth*), and the Soviet society under Stalin, apropos of which he writes:

When a reign of terror is un-

applies with greater force to Asia and Africa than to Latin America, where some of the rural interests hit by urban bias were large land owners. A combination of inflation, overvaluation of currencies, high quantitative import controls and some foreign aid and foreign investment transferred incomes from traditional exporters of primary products to the initially infant, but growing industrial sector, and did this without direct taxation. In Brazil coffee-planters, in Argentina beef-raisers were the "victims" (though, admittedly, the extracted surpluses were also used for such undeveloped purposes as Brasilia and armaments).

Such lingering doubts, far from detracting, add to the immense achievement of the book. Professor Lipson applies well-designed theoretical tools (some especially constructed for the task) to facts and figures. The analysis is placed in the context of the history of ideas. He is concerned to ask not only what has happened and why, but also what should be done and whether the suggested improvement is likely to occur. *Why Poor People Stay Poor* is written in a lively style, though the argument is often subtle and technical, the presentation is always lucid, free from jargon and enlivened by wit.

With these words, Solly Zuckerman, then Secretary to the Zoological Society of London, points to the sort of dilemmas arising from the constitution of this most unusual Society. Essentially, the contradictions are hardly new, for the vast majority of those who visit the Zoo are quite unaware of its origins, history and peculiar status. They regard it as a more or less national institution and thus on a par with our national museums, although the unsavoury period when admission charges were foisted on the latter drew attention to the anomaly that the Zoo has always charged and in recent times has charged much more heavily than was ever conceived for our museums. Nevertheless, the Zoo has always seemed to be "ours" in the characteristically British sense that "they" run it, in a quite objective way, most likely for "us".

But the Zoological Society is more than just a collection of Barnum and Bailey, and one of the merits of the present sesquicentennial volume, and of Lord Zuckerman's contribution in particular, is to show just how and why. In many ways it is a four-fold boast, and quite as curious as any found in Conrad Gesner. Besides its educational role, epitomized in the public eye by the actual Zoo, it also acts as a major forum in zoological advance, as a publisher of exceptional repute in many zoological fields, and as a host to two research institutes. To manage all this within the framework of a private society and educational charity has meant that at times the two roles, the scientific and the educational, have been somewhat uneasy bedfellows, if not downright antagonists.

The very fact that the membership of the Society has long comprised professional workers on the one hand, and non-scientists on the other, has meant a potential divergence of views on its aims and management. On the whole, this has produced a healthy dialogue, but some twenty years ago, not long after Lord Zuckerman in some innocence became Secretary, there occurred a head-on collision. Triggered by financial strains, and brought into the open by concomitant amendments to the byelaws, the Society had its plumage spattered by an adverse press and its constitution subjected to a High Court ruling (later overruled in the Court of Appeal) on the apparently minor question of what was meant by the loosely worded phrase "majority of Fellows". The real issue, however, lay in an attempt

The Regent's Park ark

By P. J. P. Whitehead

SOLLY ZUCKERMAN (Editor):
The Zoological Society of London
1826-1976 and Beyond
353pp. Academic Press. £9.80.

For we are unique. We are a national institution. But unlike other national institutions, we are not in receipt of an annual subsidy from the Government. We maintain the national collection of animals... But even though the land of which we are custodians is the Regent's Park, we are a private body. We own one of the most comprehensive zoological libraries in the land... But we receive no support from the Department of Education and Science. We publish more scientific journals than does even the Royal Society... But unlike the Royal Society, we receive no grant-in-aid from the Exchequer... we are unique because we do all these things, and we do so as an educational charity.

Although Lord Zuckerman's account of the affair is quite short, it is rightly set at the beginning of the volume. It does not have rather vivid implications and is indeed relevant to all those institutions that combine educational with scientific activities. Biological research is not a profitable activity at least until it is applied, and the benefits usually accrue elsewhere. The lesson from Lord Zuckerman's essay is that the marketing of science, with all its temptations, should not disrupt the subtle interactions between the popular and professional activities of an institution.

The Symposium, at which the twenty contributors to this book presented their papers, marked the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Society. Normally, this would have justified a comprehensive history, but in this case the Society's history is so embarrassingly well served, first by Scherren's account of 1905, then by Chalmers Mitchell's *Centenary History* of 1929, and finally by no fewer than three recent books, all published in the last few years, by Blum, Sally Holloway and Gwynne Vevers.

The alternative was a series of specialist studies on particular aspects of the Society's activities and growth in the context of the general development of zoology since 1826. It is a pleasure to handle one more really well produced volume. If educational and scientific roles are ever again at loggerheads, this volume demonstrates that in the history of the Society, and half the Society's community sense, the educational role is the more quietly informed by sound zoological opinion, will surely prevail.

The *International Zoo Yearbook* 17 (302pp. The Zoological Society of London. £12. Paperback, £9) has recently been published. It is divided into three sections: the first of which presents the twenty-three papers given at the Second World Conference of Breeding Endangered Species in Captivity, which was held in London in July 1976. The second section concentrates on new developments in the zoo world and the third is a reference section. These last two sections also contain many reports on breeding unusual animals throughout the world as well as a census of rare animals in captivity. The volume is attractively designed and well illustrated.

Implicit in these accounts, which are not overly boastful, is the very considerable support given by the Society to the cause of zoology by way of its Zoo. It produced the first-ever reptile house (1849) and living insect house (1881); and it exhibited animals new to science (Arabian oryx, 1856) or unseen alive since classical times or at all in Europe (echidna, 1845; hippopotamus, 1850; eye-eye, 1862; black and Javan rhinoceros, 1868 and 1874). The many anatomical studies based

on such animals are not only classics of the period, but in some cases are still invaluable.

On the research side, however, the contribution to which the Society can best lay claim is indirect. The animals, whether alive, recently dead or in the Society's museum (as one time more comprehensive than that of the British Museum), certainly provided material for study, but it was through the Society's *Proceedings* and *Transactions* that British zoology gained its reputation. In fact, the contributors to the present volume would probably allow that the publications of the Society have done more for its prestige in international circles than any other of its records. One in particular sheds a singular light on the Zoological Society's history, and holds the unique distinction of presenting, for one whole discipline and for more than an unbroken century, a complete annual review of all literature in the field, written by and for a wide range of subjects.

The Zoological Society has never aspired to being a research institute. That it now has under its wing the Wellcome Institute of Comparative Physiology and the Nuffield Institute of Comparative Medicine in no way alters the fact that its major role has been as a forum, a catalyst and at times a fulcrum in zoological research and education. As such, its activities have significant social consequences, partly through its influence on research, but also and equally on the attitudes of the future, for it addresses itself to a rising generation of potential zoologists and, quite as important, to a much larger generation who will not be zoologists at all but who will one day exercise opinions about their environment.

Some measure of this is brought out in a thoughtful contribution, ostensibly reviewing research on mammalian reproduction at the Wellcome Institute, but actually on ecological plea that the wood, the tree and the grass be seen in their interrelationships. It is a plea that should all be considered useful fields of zoological inquiry. The enormously exciting discoveries in molecular biology have tended to relegate whole animal studies to a past status position, yet it is here and at the even higher level of ecosystems that the consequences of our social imperatives most urgently require analysis and remedial action. The reductionist belief, that complete knowledge of the parts will bring full understanding of the whole, is probably wrong and certainly too laborious to have timely impact on current environmental problems.

Having reviewed and admired many of the Society's *Year Books*, it is a pleasure to handle one more really well produced volume. If educational and scientific roles are ever again at loggerheads, this volume demonstrates that in the history of the Society, and half the Society's community sense, the educational role is the more quietly informed by sound zoological opinion, will surely prevail.

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The Zoological Society has never aspired to being a research institute. That it now has under its wing the Wellcome Institute of Comparative Physiology and the Nuffield Institute of Comparative Medicine in no way alters the fact that its major role has been as a forum, a catalyst and at times a fulcrum in zoological research and education. As such, its activities have significant social consequences, partly through its influence on research, but also and equally on the attitudes of the future, for it addresses itself to a rising generation of potential zoologists and, quite as important, to a much larger generation who will not be zoologists at all but who will one day exercise opinions about their environment.

Some measure of this is brought out in a thoughtful contribution, ostensibly reviewing research on mammalian reproduction at the Wellcome Institute, but actually on ecological plea that the wood, the tree and the grass be seen in their interrelationships. It is a plea that should all be considered useful fields of zoological inquiry. The enormously exciting discoveries in molecular biology have tended to relegate whole animal studies to a past status position, yet it is here and at the even higher level of ecosystems that the consequences of our social imperatives most urgently require analysis and remedial action. The reductionist belief, that complete knowledge of the parts will bring full understanding of the whole, is probably wrong and certainly too laborious to have timely impact on current environmental problems.

Having reviewed and admired many of the Society's *Year Books*, it is a pleasure to handle one more really well produced volume. If educational and scientific roles are ever again at loggerheads, this volume demonstrates that in the history of the Society, and half the Society's community sense, the educational role is the more quietly informed by sound zoological opinion, will surely prevail.

The *International Zoo Yearbook* 17 (302pp. The Zoological Society of London. £12. Paperback, £9) has recently been published. It is divided into three sections: the first of which presents the twenty-three papers given at the Second World Conference of Breeding Endangered Species in Captivity, which was held in London in July 1976. The second section concentrates on new developments in the zoo world and the third is a reference section. These last two sections also contain many reports on breeding unusual animals throughout the world as well as a census of rare animals in captivity. The volume is attractively designed and well illustrated.

Implicit in these accounts, which are not overly boastful, is the very considerable support given by the Society to the cause of zoology by way of its Zoo. It produced the first-ever reptile house (1849) and living insect house (1881); and it exhibited animals new to science (Arabian oryx, 1856) or unseen alive since classical times or at all in Europe (echidna, 1845; hippopotamus, 1850; eye-eye, 1862; black and Javan rhinoceros, 1868 and 1874). The many anatomical studies based

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Macdonald and Jane's

The illusions of immediacy

By Andrew Waterman

W. S. MERWIN: *The Compass Flower* 94pp. New York: Atheneum. \$4.95.
STEPHEN DOBYNS: *Griffon* 85pp. New York: Atheneum. \$4.95.
DANIEL HOFFMAN: *Able Was I Ere I Saw Elba* Selected poems 1954-1974 113pp. Hutchinson. £2.95.

Some time around 1960, many American poets of the generation following Lowell, Berryman and Jarrell opted for a sort of willed brainlessness. Not that they quite thought of it that way, and indeed the origins and rationale of the process that insidiously corrupted the talents of, among others, Robert Bly, James Wright, Galway Kinnell and W. S. Merwin were complex. Aiming for an authentic immediacy of presentation and freshened sense of wonder, they preferred unlettered, colloquial diction and tones, deployed often all too knowingly, and mistrusted traditional poetic forms and modes of articulating experience to a degree that can itself be said to distrust of language itself, as a social artifact imposing conventionalized distortions on life. Unfortunately, the poetic results have been all too often too mechanically simple. The notion that a poem should not "mean" but "be" readily becomes a green light for the rapid writing down of almost anything at all, and fosters the kind of rapid "presentation", conscious of "sincerity", proneness to hurried, charlatan invocations of animals, birds, plants that is all too pervasive in the work of this

generation of Americans. Seeking, as Bly put it in 1971, "to puncture down into an evolutionary part of the mind", their work too frequently exposes a mind seemingly lobotomized.

W. S. Merwin, a Pulitzer Prize winner whose poetry has been admired in America for twenty-five years, offers a depressing case of extreme regression. His early work, though it conforms to the paleface orthodoxies of the American 1950s, shows as well as persuasive mastery of traditional techniques a distinctly individual sensibility. Poems such as "Leydian", "Low Fields and Light", "The Bones"—to name three available in Donald Hall's Penguin anthology *Contemporary American Poetry*—give eloquently orchestrated, complex and shapely articulation to subtle perceptions and emotions. However, Merwin seems to have felt a mistrust of sophisticated verbal expression, a gulf between words and the objects or experiences they would mediate: in "The Bones", considering a skeleton the poet writes "you cannot put it into words nor tell/Why these things should have a voice". Of course every genuine poet retains a salutary awareness that "words strain, crack and sometimes break, under the burden, /all languages are the only medleys we have, and their resources marvellously creative and subtle for, like Wallace Stevens's girl along the seashore, making his world: "Words alone are certain good" has its truth too. Merwin's extreme retreat from the risks of complex utterance since he went redskin is fairly represented by this poem "Trees" from his new collection: I am looking at trees they may be one of the things I thought from the earth most many of the ones that I already I cannot remember

and though I seldom embrace the ones I see and have never been able to speak with one I listen to them tenderly their names have never touched them they have stood round my sleep and when it was forbidden to climb them they have carried me in their branches

One need not invoke, say, Frost's "Tree at My Window" or "Birches". Merwin's is simply banal and devalued writing, and incidentally risible. That he owes, knowingly writes thus, that the enervation of language, sickly ingenuous tone, and sentimentality, are all self-consciously perpetrated, cannot pre-empt a reader's response, and confer the desired charm nor interest on the resulting "poem". And too often in *The Compass Flower* Merwin is just mandering as in "Numbered Apartments":

was born here one William on the last day of one September to whom now it is again a January of an eleven year and who has forgotten that day and to whom that week is inaccessible etc. etc. The real wonder is not that it is not done well, but that it is done at all.

Throughout *The Compass Flower* no punctuation of any kind is used, and as might be expected its abandonment, far from liberating Merwin's poetry into new subtleties of articulation, reduces all to a noisy toy of flat assertions. Where utterance is not flexed by syntax, rhythm is apt to die, and one consequence is the arbitrary nature of Merwin's line-breaks, justified by no discernible principle. Altogether, his poetry seems to be in a state of terminal atrophy, footling in content, at once numb and garrulous in language. The pity is that the devaluation has been programmatic, in the theoretical interests of bringing closer together what is felt and what is said. Certainly Merwin supposes he is into joy and wonder: throughout the present book he is, prone to reply to "kiss the light", to think for six hours of your hair, "consider how and how it is expressed, to wish to live "as one blade of grass/... I would be green with white roots". He used to write real poems.

Stephen Dobyns at least aspires to craftsmanship and a willingness to make words work for their living. In his poetry he shows genuine imagination: Refusing love, work and nourishment, my hands lie before me: pale tubers, skinned rabbits, surrounded by pencils and paper. Alas, this poem "Hands" soon lapses into extended limp whimsy: the hands of a small and pink like the curled ears of rotted boxes. They can be seen on the street, rising from baby-carriages like pink clouds. I doubt it, and this self-indulgent and arbitrary, and so essentially a doodling on the margins of experience rather than genuine imaginative engagement with it, pervades *Griffon*, as does the connected vice, hailed in the blurbs as "surrealist obliquity", exemplified in "Putting It All Away":

I am in a hospital. There are nails in my leg. I shout into a rubber cup. I hang from the edge of a star, then drop. Two goats and the smell of willa fall with me. This sort of procedure is an easy option to the more taxing alternative of poetry as a clarification of life. In "Getting Away From It All", Dobyns, having a shot at negative capability, tells us he will "become" rooms, roads, machines, "a place the water moves through". The poem characteristically lacks organic shape or inevitability for all the dutiful gestures towards imagination. The author's poems tend to have an imposed external structuring whereby some mechanical formula is reiterated with variations until the poem simply runs out of steam. "Gluttony" is a bodiless "issue of Fey generations hardly likely to be noticed at any dinner-

table: Langland and Dunbar did it all with more pep. A few slight poems where Dobyns does not strain beyond his minimal gifts and mildly pleasing; but generally, for all the diffuseness of ingredients, there is a monotony of effect in the majority of Dobyns's poems which tend to evaporate away as one reads.

Daniel Hoffman, accomplished and pleasurable, comes as a relief. The palindromic title given this selection from twenty years work intimates Hoffman's delight in verbal play; also perhaps a lack of stylistic "development" which, given his range, virtuosity and witty inventiveness, hardly matters. In "An armada of thirty whales" we read:

The ceremonial motion of their ponderous race is given dandiacal graces in the ballet of their geysers. Hoffman has dandiacal graces enough of his own: his zestful verbal flamboyance, supple use of rhyme and other sound-effects, linguistic quickness, which never so inordinate as to expatiate or baffle the reader, make the processes of his writing vital and interesting as Merwin's and Dobyns's are not. There is an early thematic shift from poems preoccupied with hands, beasts and flowers to wider human concerns. Hoffman shows a talent for symbolic fictions, in poems such as "The City of Satisfaction" where the reader is drawn into a fantasy-world made compelling by the recognizable details of such apparitions as "A Danish half-devoured by flies beneath speckled glass/Dirty cups on the counter".

Generally, though, Hoffman is a verbal "maker" rather than a poet driven by obsessions. I find no unifying vision at the heart of his work making everything cohere, as in the highest order of poets, into an organic imaginative world, but there are many very fine poems. "The Center of Attention" is a perceptive and humorous dramatization of the relationship between a potential suicide aloft on a pylon and the lunching crowd below, and also a poem of great speculation, diversion, or vicarious thrill. "On the Industrial Highway" evokes a gasworks with haunting imaginative originality: a subculture of spouts, nozzles, ducts, a host of snakes and ladders in nests and thickets or by tribes, laying dinosaur facts against the sun. Here are things whose archetypes have not yet been dreamed.

And crucially, when something does well up from the depths, Hoffman possesses what Merwin has wilfully forsaken, a technique enabling him to write, as he does in "An Old Photo in an Old Life" he meditates on a picture of soldiers beside a river during the Boxer Rebellion: Their bodies lie in bodily postures of the dead, Arms, bound, legs akimbo and askew. But look how independently their heads Lie thereabouts, some upright, some of the heads on their heads. Tipped on their sides, or standing Mostly, the eyes are open And their mouths twisted in a sort of smile.

Some seem to be saying or just to have said. Some message in Chinese just as Nicked the... Hoffman is a poet worth buying.

First published in 1949 and since reprinted several times, *The London Book of English Verse* (80y. Eyre Methuen. £4.95) appears in its latest, compact edition in a handsome jacket reproducing a Monet study of the Thames. Herbert Read and Bonamy Dobson selected the poems, which begin with Chaucer and end with T. S. Eliot. The anthology is arranged in an unusual way which the editors have explained as "organic"—from narrative, song, the poetry of sentiment and the poetry of fantasy, through "descriptive verse of an objective type" to "an impressionistic type", the moralistic verse, the symphonic poem, and satirical verse.

The voice of them all

By J. A. Burrow

EDWARD WILSON: *The Gawain-Poet* 137pp. Leiden: Brill. Fl. 32.

Until the later fourteenth century, English poetry is mostly anonymous. Poets have individual identities, if at all, not as proud makers but as humble petitioners. Cynewulf and Layamon reveal their names only in order that the reader's prayers should be credited by God to the right account; and Nicholas of Guildford reveals his authorship of *The Owl and the Nightingale* because he wishes to attract the attention of episcopal patrons. But from about the time of Chaucer, poets (though often still petitioners) become increasingly inclined, not only to reveal their names, but also to write about themselves and indulge in a distinctive personal style. Hence Chaucer, Langland, Hoccleve, Lydgate and the rest are not mere names: they are the first fully fledged English poets.

The old Medieval Authors Series, edited by John Norton-Smith and published by Routledge and Kegan Paul, set out to do justice to the individuality of these poets; but only two volumes were produced before Routledge withdrew (Derek Pearsall on Lydgate and Norton-Smith on Chaucer). Now the venture has been revived, with a new publisher, the broader aim, it is now the Medieval and Renaissance Authors Series. The editors, Norton-Smith and Douglas Gray, declare their intention of emphasizing "the continuity and originality of an individual, personal contribution to our literature" and also the extent to which the individuality of Renaissance authors is anticipated and largely made possible by that of Middle English and Middle Scots writers. So perhaps we may now hope for a decent book-length critical study of John Gower and William Dunbar, and even Thomas Hoccleve.

The Gawain-Poet gives promise that this welcome new series, like its short-lived predecessor, will provide us with expert and scholarly studies. Edward Wilson is thorough, well versed in the poems which he discusses and also in the critical and scholarly writings about them. He himself writes carefully and shrewdly, in an

agreeably styptic manner. His book avoids the obvious. It will not be easy for beginners, but more expert readers will appreciate the author's determination to discuss only those matters about which he has something to say.

Nevertheless, in the context of the new series, the book is something of a disappointment. Mr Wilson's opening sentences will suggest why: "This book is concerned with the four poems found in British Museum, MS Cotton Nero A. 3, Art. 3. Most scholars today believe that they are the work of one man (often called, after one of the more widely known poems, the *Gawain-poet*), and I have myself assumed this, although should the contrary ever be proved few sentences here would need to be rewritten." But where does that leave the "individual, personal contribution"? Can one imagine a book about Milton in which "few sentences would need to be rewritten" if *Paradise Regained* turned out to be by Marvell?

The problem is, of course, not one of Mr Wilson's making. There really does seem at present no way of deciding for sure whether the same poet wrote the four poems in question: *Cleanness*, *Patience*, *Pearl* and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. But the hypothesis of single authorship is, for various reasons, more attractive than any alternative; and Mr Wil-

son declares his readiness to adopt it—as indeed he must, in a book entitled *The Gawain-Poet*, in a series entitled *Medieval and Renaissance Authors*. Yet he adopts it half-heartedly—much more half-heartedly than his rival, A. C. Spearing, whose book *The Gawain-Poet: A Critical Study* he almost ignores. He says a very little about the *Gawain-Poet*'s individual, personal contribution, and declares his unwillingness to join in any "search for patterns common to the poems". The book is, in fact, not really a book about the *Gawain-poet* at all, but a collection of four essays, each devoted to one of the four poems in the Cotton Nero Manuscript.

Mr Wilson's assumption that his reader has already some acquaintance with modern criticism leads him to devote only nineteen pages to *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, the poem which has engaged a lot of critical attention. The result is inevitably sketchy. Like several recent commentators, Wilson stresses the importance of games in the poem; but observes that the poem seems morally dubious to a contemporary reader. "The numerousness of such rooms where people may withdraw..."

Rules for recluses

By G. T. Shepherd

A. ZETTERSTEN (Editor): *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwle* 184pp. Oxford University Press. £3.75.

The original thirteenth-century religious book, known to us as the *Ancrene Riwle*, written in English by the pious women of the West Midlands, is something of a paradox. It is a phantom identified only by its epigraphs in various manuscripts, and yet all these different texts together substantiate a command which by any standards and in any company must be acclaimed a masterpiece. The *Early English Text Society* long ago un-

dertook to publish all these texts, and with this edition of MS Pp. 2498 in Magdalene College, London, the work draws near to its end. The text of the *Rule* in this manuscript concludes with a verse couplet referring to "this good work *Recluse*" and offers us a useful if not altogether appropriate title for the work.

Arne Zettersten presents *The Recluse* in accordance with the Society's established procedure. He has done it faithfully and well. The result is an "edition of record" fully accessible only to those who read the poem with the *Rule* open before them. In *The Recluse* there are omissions, constant transference backwards or forwards of material, and some lengthy elaborations. There is a succinct introduction with a full, clear account of the

manuscript and its history. It was all the work of one scribe working apparently in the 1370s near London and using the language of mid-fourteenth-century London. *The Recluse* is addressed to men and women generally, as well as, like the original *Rule*, to women who have withdrawn from the world. The author seeks spiritual meaning for the details of the anchorite life and presents a life of regulated devotion as a vocation for all who are willing to make "an altar of the heart".

The Recluse has been usually referred to and still here advised as a Lollard version of the *Rule*. Dr Zettersten is reticent on this matter, probably rightly. Nowadays it is difficult to decide what *Lollardy* should mean. To anyone who reads *The Recluse* through, Wicliffe's comment on the volume may well seem entirely just: "These Sermons are not Wicliffe's. Neither Matter, nor Style, nor Manner are at all like his; neither was the Author new Wicliffe. Indeed, the Language seems to be older than Wicliffe."

The Recluse accepts unquestioningly the authority of the papacy and the church, the current doctrine of the Mass and sacraments, the invocation of saints, the fashionable forms of devotion. It is not concerned with the controversy over images. It is concerned with the morality of work and behaviour, with the need for preaching and reading, with the meaning of the word. Above all it is anxious to dissolve the dual standard which had separated clergy and lay for over a thousand years of Christian history and which had offered different prospects of salvation to those in religion and to those in the world. Many people of the fourteenth century were concerned with the problem, Chaucer and Langland among them; and few nowadays insist that those were also Lollards.

Religious aspirations and expectation had changed in 150 years, but the old *Rule* had been moderate enough in its counsel; comprehensive and eloquent enough in its expression; and so accommodating. The reviser was a much less gifted writer than the author of the *Rule*, coarser and more anxious in spirit, hastier and less subtle with words. But he knew the *Rule* and he cherishes it: "In it were many words shortly said that bear great charge. Great things may be understood thereby, if it be often looked over, and busily." It has made the old highly-charged text so much his own that sometimes in his own addition he can sustain its eloquence, and on other occasions, where he reproduces the earlier wording most exactly, his own teaching appears more clearly. The rhetorical dynamics of literary tradition could be beautifully illustrated from a study of the different versions of the *Rule*.

To meet our doom

By T. A. Shippey

GRAHAM D. CAIE: *The Judgment Day Theme in Old English Poetry* 258pp. Copenhagen Nova.

This monograph has two main purposes: to consider the three Old English poems on Doomsday, and to explain the meaning of *dom* in Old English more generally. The two topics do not fit each other particularly naturally. *Domesdag* is the day when you receive your *dom* or "sentence" a simple enough development from the original sense, "what is laid down, what is established"; but by the time of Old English *dom* had also come to mean concepts as diverse as "fate" "will" "meaning", "reputation"—to choose only a selection from the senses Graham Caie offers. Did Anglo-Saxons still feel a unity underlying these ramifications, or did

they think no more of them than we do of such (etymologically related) pairs as "stock" = "tree-stump", "stock" = "share", "cross" = "angry", "cross" = "in crucifix"? Every shift between these senses is a milestone in the history of ideas," quotes Dr Caie. The continuing associations between disparate senses must therefore be traced.

In the first three chapters, accordingly, he considers such notorious puzzles as the gnomic assertion that *dom* is his best. Beowulf's maxim that everyone who can should seek *dom* before death, the equation of "doomless" and "damned", and the appearance of *Daniel to dome*, as well as many other of the first and last are elucidated, and Dr Caie discusses their developments and abbreviations of Latin material with sympathy for the poets' intentions—largely, as we can see, to shock and intimidate rather than to explain. But it is *Judgment Day* which best exemplifies the strategies of fear, its author suddenly changing the meaning of "I" at the end to mean "you", the reader, and charging such innocent words as "row" and "shien" with meaning that "doom" to happen. The poem starts, like the abrupt "Then with fear" of *Christ III*; never mind what "it" is or when "then" will be, do something about it now! With such aggression available it not, compulsion, it is no wonder that "doom" has lost all its favourable meanings and become, for us, just something that "impends". Our loss of any sense of crisis in the world; as of any possible optimism over its outcome, must—if semantic shifts are ideological milestones—he claims—as an impoverishment. Dr Caie would have rubbed that in by considering Bede's famous (and possibly authentic) *Death-Song*.

Since there can be no chronology for these semantic shifts, they might, of course, have occurred in some other order. But the poem is as late as Maldon people are being urged to *dom* *gefeahon*, which one can hardly translate as anything other than "gain fame by fighting".

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Venture to the interior

By Francis Watson

JOHN FLEMING and HUGH HONOUR:
The Penguin Dictionary of Decorative Arts.
895pp. Allen Lane. £9.50.

How many of those who attend a performance of Beaumarchais's *Le Mariage de Figaro* have any idea of what Suzanne means when she tells the Countess to burn Chérubin's letters in the "chénier"? And from the moment when this piece of furniture went out of fashion in the Empire period no one would have been able to find out the word's meaning down to 1932, for it is mentioned in no dictionary save for a rather misleading account in Henry Havard's usually very accurate *Dictionnaire de l'ameublement et de la décoration* which began to appear in 1877 and was not complete until 1889. In fact, it was a

highly fashionable neoclassic object invented in 1770 which combined the functions of wash-hand stand, perfume-burner, flower holder and night-light support.

Needless to say all this information, together with an excellent illustration, appears in the admirably comprehensive Penguin Dictionary of Decorative Arts. The point illustrates the importance of such dictionaries.

Furniture and decoration reflect the customs and tastes of a society far more closely than the pictorial arts, and change with almost bewildering rapidity as fashions. As Mercier remarked towards the end of the eighteenth century the language of furniture dealers is "une langue très délicate, très riche, et très inconnue aux pauvres".

The first attempt to compile a real dictionary of the decorative arts was probably *Vocabulaire des arts et métiers* which appeared in 1855 but was restricted entirely to the medieval period and to France. Much more serious was Havard's dictionary, which began to appear in four

large quarto volumes printed in double columns nineteen years later. In spite of falling short of his ambition to cover the definition of *l'ameublement*, it still remains the greatest compilation of its kind and is constantly consulted by all students of the decorative arts. Indeed it may be claimed that it launched the serious study of the history of the decorative arts in France; it has certainly preceded far further than that in any other country, starting with de Champenoux's *Le Meuble* which appeared two years after Havard's last volume. In England such studies only began nearly two decades later with the publication of the late Percy Macquoid's four magnificent volumes; while in Germany the first volume of Kretschmer's history of German furniture only came out in 1958 and in other European countries national furniture has hardly been studied at all. Such are the advantages of having available a dictionary such as Havard's or the one under review.

A rigorous comparison of John Fleming and Hugh Honour's new

book with Havard would be unfair. Not only did he have vastly more space at his disposal—many of his articles run to several pages of double columns of print—but his field was far more confined. His emphasis is almost entirely on the decorative arts of France while the Fleming and Honour take all Europe, and in some degree the Near and Far East, as their field. Nevertheless, a comparison of a few sections arbitrarily chosen by letter, suggests that there is nothing in Havard that they have overlooked or failed to cover succinctly; they also cover much that he does not mention at all. Where the modern dictionary suffers by the comparison is that space rarely admits much in the way of quotation from early inventories and the like, of which the French writer made such extensive and valuable use. In an area where fashion and vocabulary change so rapidly it is very important to know when technical words were introduced and when new types of furnishing appeared. For instance, it would have been useful to know that the word "whatnot", generally supposed to be a dealer's term, was introduced in the late nineteenth century, appears in a letter as early as 1808. But something had to be sacrificed and the Penguin Dictionary is both handy and cheap compared with Havard or anything else of the kind.

The two authors of this impressive compilation are well known as art-historians of a type unusual today. Amateurs in the highest sense of the word, diligent in its full eighteenth-century meaning.

The splendours of silver

By Anna Somers-Cocks

J. F. HAYWARD:

Virtuoso Goldsmiths and the Triumph of Mannerism 1540-1620.
751pp with 739 plates in black-and-white and 24 in colour.
Sotheby Parke Bernet. £48.

English silver studies have until now tended to be limited to mere cataloguing and a dreary preoccupation with hallmarks. *Virtuoso Goldsmiths and the Triumph of Mannerism 1540-1620* introduces the reader to the Kunstammer and the splendours and exotica of the gold, silver and semi-precious stone vessels, in them; it explains the complex relationship between designers, sculptors, pattern-carvers, goldsmiths and patrons which led to the production of an object during the century when goldsmiths were probably most closely entwined with the other arts; and it gives the reader a large taste of the designs, both graphic and manuscript.

The book is divided into three sections consisting of the text, the very numerous plates, and a catalogue expanding on each one of them. The text begins by easing the reader into the subject with a study of guild practice, goldsmiths' techniques, the sources of the materials used—the gold, silver, lapis, coral, ebony and so on. J. F. Hayward's enormous practical experience of silver, both in the Victoria and Albert Museum and the silversmiths, is reflected in the many lines on how to examine any given piece: what to look for in the way of casting marks, coats of arms, hallmarks, re-gilding and so on. The rest of the text is divided into two sections, the first and shorter one, entitled the Renaissance goldsmiths, the second, Mannerism. Both are subdivided into sections on the various countries, Italy, France, the German cultural region, the Iberian peninsula, England, and the Low Countries. Within these sections prominent designers and goldsmiths are considered individually together with any other subject of particular importance to the history, such as the Hallsche Hellmuthbuch, a pictorial inventory executed around 1550 of the collections of relics and reliquaries belonging to Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg. Where

the designers are closely linked they are discussed together, as, for example, the Roman school, Giulio Romano, Perino del Vaga, Pollodoro Caldara are most usefully assembled, and their work easily compared.

With a fairly strong bias towards Germany, where the greatest number of objects survive preserved in the Kunstammer, most of the important goldsmiths' works of this period are illustrated, their individual history presented in the catalogue and their style analysed in the text. The real originality of the book lies in the fact that this is supplemented by almost as many illustrations of the designs, which not only show what it was that the goldsmith was trying to emulate, but makes up for the fact that a by no means representative selection of gold and silver has survived. Particularly noteworthy are the designs of the Antwerp goldsmith and designer who worked in Nuremberg and ended his career at the court of Rudolph II. Horneck's work is a good example of a goldsmith who was a designer, and therefore a useful man to look at in a general study since he was not so far in advance of his time to be atypical, and was a sensitive reflector of designs in circulation. The text ends with a chapter which again brings together two subjects traditionally separated by over-specialization, the work of the goldsmith when employed as a decorator of grand parade armour,

and as the maker of base metal clock and instrument cases.

If there is any serious criticism of the book it is that the application of a general concept such as Renaissance and Mannerism forces the author into compartmentalizing the material too much and underestimating the continuum which, disregarding the more obvious stylistic changes, underlay the production of grand plate. A case in point is the famous table fountain made by the Nuremberg master, Wenzel Jamnitzer, for Emperor Maximilian. With its symbols of terrestrial power, the Seasons, the Elements, the Rivers, the Winds and the Seven Electors, the Four Monarchies and the Holy Roman Emperor, Mr Hayward says of it "that it would be difficult to find an object which displayed more comprehensively the elaborate philosophical programme of the Mannerist goldsmith's work". Such an object was, however, very much in the same tradition as the table ornaments described by the chroniclers of the Burgundian court. For example, at the famous feast of the Phœnix, held on February 17, 1454, the table was covered with pieces, many with clockwork parts, which were counting or topical allusions, while the centrepieces at Charles the Bold's festivities were just as much golden-plated as his political power as Maximilian's table fountain.

This criticism does not, however, affect the enormous achievement of this pioneering book.

Character study

NICOLETTE GRAY:

Nineteenth Century Ornamented Typesets.
238pp. Faber. £20.

The 1938 edition of Nicolette Gray's pioneering work has always looked physically constricted for its subject, and enlargement to a more ample format has given the new excellently reproduced typographical specimens the elbow-room they deserve. Lovely black Egyptian now leap from the page and justify the author's vivid choice of adjectives for a wide variety of ornamented types—Old Face letters fet-

tered, they become "gentle as well as gross" and this "faint" and flamboyant typographical procession is seen "smiling" and "strutting" across the page.

Such descriptions were an enduring feature of the first edition, and although Mrs Gray has reworked much of her material in detail, she has resisted the temptation to revise her (as she herself says) youthfully overconfident generalizations about Culture. So long as typographers do not take them as the last word in the analysis of Victorian society, all is well. These daring attempts show how much the book opened up the subject, as much of which is now taken for granted by designers, printing historians, and new-

comers like the ephemera collectors.

A chapter on typographical layout now replaces one on chromolithography (since dealt with elsewhere by Ruari McLean), and Roy Nash has contributed a chapter on ornamented types in America—an excellent introduction to the subject which fits very well into the pattern of the original chapters. The list of British type specimen books and the dated "Chart of Ornamented Designs" (with the specimens rephotographed for this edition) conclude a volume which has been revised, in most, elegant form.

Geoffrey Naylor

they are attached to no museum or academic institution. Yet they bear a reputation as scholars of great distinction and are more widely respected than most of the professional art-historians turned out from the universities in such numbers today. The range and quality of their own writings is impressive (Honour's most recent book, *The New Golden Land*, and the exhibition *The European Vision of America* based on it, was widely recognized in the United States as quite the most rewarding of the numerous artistic tributes evoked by last year's Bicentennial celebrations). In addition they have edited two of the most refreshing series of art books to appear since the boom in art books began, "Art in Context" and "Style and Civilisation". To have realized this research programme from a fairly remote country house in Italy is an impressive achievement.

The Dictionary is an even more extraordinary feat. One would have thought it impossible to assemble, check and coordinate the polymath learning covered by this work, which embraces furniture, architecture, ceramics, metalwork, textiles and many other subjects as well as biographies of hundreds of craftsmen and the definition of many more technical terms than that of the libraries of a few European capitals (and none in America outside the Metropolitan Museum's working library) is such information available. That they have succeeded in taking note of it during annual visits to Paris and London displays an extraordinary concentration and assiduity. It is a pleasure to welcome such a long wanted, well-planned and admirably executed work of reference.

Glittering prizes

By Celina Fox

NANCY ARMSTRONG:

Victorian Jewelry.
158pp. Studio Vista. £8.

When the Koh-i-Noor was first put on show at the Great Exhibition of 1851, it proved to be a great disappointment. Gas-flares and metal reflectors were introduced in a vain attempt to spotlight its sparkle before the queen decided to have it brilliant-cut, reducing its weight by a third but increasing its ostentatious appeal. At least the Victorians realized that the main point about jewels was not so much their intrinsic beauty as the wealth they could so conspicuously represent. Nancy Armstrong in contrast believes that those who own Victorian jewelry to-

day are people with "tender and wistful hearts and who love beautiful things of the past".

Most of the illustrations in *Victorian Jewelry* are of important jewels laid out as if for the morgue by leading saleroom and dealers. They represent an international set, now in Italy and French, which is epitomized by Mrs Venetia's "emitting flashes of many-coloured lightning from diamonds, emeralds, and rubies". At intervals, porcel-fusion-plains are reproduced, ostensibly to illustrate "the expansion of fashion now available to decorate" yet scarcely evocative of the brilliant demi-monde collections of the Second Empire.

Though the book is lavishly presented, the text fails to provide an adequate survey of the grandeur of Victorian jewelry. It is a useful guide for the less ambitious collector. The author touches on the feature common to all the Victorian decorative arts, a preoccupation with novelty and invention. She ranges across continents to embrace these exclusive purveyors of baubles to the privileged, Tiffany and Fabergé. But nothing is added to our knowledge, on the one hand, of the standards of craftsmanship at the highest level, nor, on the other, of the increase in mass-produced costume jewelry. No insight is offered into the changes in fashion and taste which influenced not only the style of jewelry but the prominence of its display. No dimensions are given in the captions to the illustrations, and instead of the usual handy glossary of terms or index of leading designers, the book concludes with a curious appendix devoted to the hardness of stones. Perhaps a Victorian pearl is sometimes at its finest, not when it is set in a diamond, but when it is set in a diamond.

The expansive emperor

By H. G. Koenigsberger

JOHN P. SPIELMAN:
Leopold I of Austria.
240pp. Thames and Hudson. £6.50.

The Austrian Habsburgs between Maximilian I (1493-1519) and Maria Theresa (1740-80) are virtually unknown as personalities, even to most professional historians. Only the half-mad Rudolph II is a partial exception, and this because he was the patron of Tycho Brahe, Kepler and a whole swarm of fascinating Mannerist artists. Even on the Continent the position is not much better. Leopold I (1657-1705) has not had a biography between 1709 and John P. Spielman's present book.

Since Voltaire and earlier, historians have spoken of the age of Louis XIV as a matter of course. No one has suggested such a phrase for Leopold I, Louis's almost only contemporary and most persistent antagonist. To German historians he seemed to make a poor contrast to the Great Elector, that fascinating, if Machiavellian, creator of the Great Power Prussia, and to prevent France from annexing the whole or large parts of the Spanish Empire, Leopold I was sufficiently convinced of this to accept the distasteful

alliance with the Protestant maritime powers, Great Britain and the United Provinces of the Netherlands. But Austria-Hungary annexations of the southern Netherlands and of large parts of Italy made no sense at all. For without Charles V's imperial vision and purpose there was nothing except dynasticism that could hold such an extended empire together. Both the Netherlands and Italy were to involve Austria in repeated and nearly always disastrous wars. Professor Spielman has written an excellent biography and has maintained the high standard of the previous three volumes of this series of "Men in Office". He is comprehensive and judicious in his description of personalities and politics, and he gives a brief but useful summary of the huge amount of work done by modern Austrian historians on the development of Habsburg administration. Where the book is thin is on the cultural side. Leopold I's Vienna was not yet the Vienna of Mozart, Beethoven and Grillparzer. But Leopold, like all the best Habsburgs, was a lover of music; he himself voluntarily composed music for court and ceremonial occasions—and the Viennese nobility and higher clergy limited his patronage. All this, and the beginnings of the splendid Austrian Baroque style of building, Professor Spielman mentions but makes very little of. Yet this, too, was part of the public activity of Leopold I, and not the least important.

All this the author presents with great clarity and fairness. He is perhaps not quite so clear on the flaws of the "western" policy. It certainly made sense to defend the territory of the Holy Roman Empire and to prevent France from annexing the whole or large parts of the Spanish Empire. Leopold I was sufficiently convinced of this to accept the distasteful

The erotic empress

By Igor Vinogradoff

JOAN HASLIP:
Catherine the Great.
404pp. Weldenfeld and Nicolson. £6.95.

Another English book about Catherine the Great—the seventh or eighth since the war. One's heart sinks. Like most of her forerunners, Joan Haslip makes no pretensions to original research or to a knowledge of Russian, though she has added some entertaining footnotes from some unpublished letters of the Empress to explore the Voronov Archives and the masses of documents published in Russia after 1860, in the great series of the Russian Historical Society, the *Russkii Arkhiv* and *Russkaya Starina*.

Wallszewski was an expatriate bilingual Pole who wrote superficially well-learned assessments about most of the Russian monarchs for the *biens pensants* Paris public at the end of the nineteenth century, when the Franco-Russian alliance was in process of gestation despite much opposition by old-fashioned French Russophiles. His books were translated into every European language and—accidents of wars and alliances notwithstanding—have had a wide and lasting, if not very profound, effect on the Western interpretation of Russian history from that day to this.

It was inevitable that Wallszewski should look at Russian history through the patriotic prism of Polish nationalism. Unlike most of his followers, he could read the Russian language sources but, Poles apart, he was principally a sympathizer with the French diplomats or memoirists of the time who did not try to hide their loathing of "Tartar Muscovy", for which they thought Catherine the Great stood. That the French philosophers liked and admired Catherine meant nothing to her. Her rule was a traditional France down to and long after Talleyrand; these Voltairians were corrupt sophists—anyway outside the pale. (This was the view of the *ancien régime*, revived with vigour by the First and Second Empires, the Restoration, the July Monarchy and the second and third Republics in their early years.)

It follows that all the scabs and blisters of "Asiatic Muscovite barbarism" as seen through Polish eyes, as firmly fixed on the Spanish inheritance as Louis XIV. It was Turkish over-confidence, leading to the

and distorted—in the books of Wallszewski and his followers. Miss Haslip has hardly bothered to consider the facts and figures of Russian serfdom in the eighteenth century. (She writes of 90 per cent serf population; in 1794/96, the serf population had added two million to the serf population during her reign, which was a rather high number, after she huge estates of the great Polish magnates are taken into account). The three "benevolent despots" who perpetrated the "greatest crime of the century"—the Partition of Poland—were benevolent in the eyes of the philosophers because they stood for religious tolerance (including tolerance of Jewry), and "Pietist police" (an order, not a police, state). Neither of which changed the old Polish *Rzeczpospolita*, inflated with its undigested sixteenth and seventeenth-century conquests, was either able or willing to provide.

But these are background faults. When allowance has been made for the slogans and clichés she has inherited from her precursors, Miss Haslip has written a sensible and readable book about the personality of the Empress. She has interpreted with intelligence and flair the primary sources for the strange mixture of eroticism and application to business which made up Catherine's life. It is easy to understand why this complicated and moving story appeals to the permissive generation of today. Miss Haslip skates round the obvious enigmas. Was Paul the son of Peter III? Probably, despite Catherine's malicious hints to the contrary. Was Catherine secretly married to Potemkin? Probably not, despite the uxorious verbiage of her love letters. The great riddle remains.

How was it possible for this petty German product of the *Almanach de Gotha* (first published after she had been on the throne for two years) to defy all conventions, to combine so much solid achievement with so intense a jolliness? She owed much to the emancipatory influence of a Huguenot-French governess, much to the solid Hapsburg appetites she had inherited from her father, and to a natural genius for publicity which combined with gaiety and self-deception to create for her a rule of life, most of all to sheer strength of will. Lascivious and industrious, obsessed and self-advertising, never trusted, always optimistic and usually successful, she had much in common with the improbable female success stories of recent years in Hollywood or Paris. She might have had much to discuss

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The determined determinist

By Martin Pollock

PAUL F. CRANEFIELD (Editor): Claude Bernard's Revised Edition of his "Introduction à l'étude de la médecine expérimentale". 323pp. New York: Science History Publications, \$30.

It is now very nearly a hundred years since the death of one of the great biologists of the last century, but interest in the strategy and philosophy of Claude Bernard's approach to the study of experimental medicine has not diminished; if anything, it has intensified. This is not only because he was largely responsible for laying the foundations of vertebrate physiology as an experimental science in its own right, but also because of the controversial uncertainties still underlying the philosophical basis of his approach to living systems. These uncertainties are reflected both in his classic monograph, *Introduction à l'étude de la médecine expérimentale*, first published in 1865, and among the fascinating comments in his personal notebooks (the so-called "Cahiers Rouges") which, on occasion, seem almost to contradict each other.

These apparent inconsistencies have allowed fundamentally opposed groups to claim him as a vitalist, anti-vitalist, agnostic, metaphysician, materialist, or spiritualist according to their various interpretations and inclinations. But in the view of most natural scientists, as well as in the contemporary popular imagination (the "cold, sceptical scientist" of Zola's *Docteur Pascal*), he has fairly consistently been a determinist, materialist and anti-vitalist, convinced that the laws of physics and chemistry must apply equally

to living as to non-living systems. And this is notwithstanding his antipathetic emphasis on the need to study organisms at their "own" level, as well as to apply our knowledge of physics and chemistry to biological systems wherever appropriate. He was, in that sense, a very "modern" biologist.

It is thus to be expected that any new documentary evidence of Bernard's "real" beliefs will be seized upon with enthusiasm by all those anxious for further clarification of his views. So this discovery of a previously unpublished new version of the famous introduction will certainly provoke great interest amongst Bernardophile scholars and science historians generally.

The text of the new version, probably written only a year or two after the original and printed in 1867, is here available for the first time through the devoted enthusiasm of Paul F. Cranefield, the editor, and Mary Keenan who first, in 1974, recognized the possible importance of a manuscript purchased by Henry Schuman from a Parisian book scout who had, in turn, obtained it from the stock of the publisher, Emile Martinet, many years previously. It was to have formed an introduction to Bernard's great project of writing a much more detailed and wider ranging treatise to be entitled "Principes de médecine expérimentale" which was still working on at the time of his death, early in 1878. An incomplete essay with that title and based simply on Bernard's preliminary notes was published in 1947 under the editorship of Léon Delhomme, but not until 1974, when it was first ever appeared and only what was intended as the introduction (presented here) ever printed, it proves to be essentially a revised draft of the original introduction, cut

short by omission of the last twenty-six pages of the last edition (probably to produce a round ten-sheet gathering) and so never set up in type as a whole. It was subsequently abandoned and all but two copies sent to pulp, presumably when it was realized that it would have no immediate future and there was not enough material immediately available for a full sixteen-sheet gathering. There are a few other major omissions and some fairly extensive revisions, all of which must naturally excite curiosity.

Every minute difference between the 1865 publication and this new text is faithfully recorded, page by page, line by line. They range from tiny typographical discrepancies (including obvious errors newly introduced into the 1867 text) and alterations in spelling and punctuation to extensive rewriting of whole paragraphs. There are only one or two errors in recording differences which in principle might be confusing, but are too trivial to cause concern.

Apart from the twenty-six "lost" pages, which are presumably irrelevant in the assessment of any intentional alteration, there are two substantial cuts of approximately two and three pages respectively, the significance of which in each case is hard to judge. The first consists of an emphasis on what Bernard calls "un déterminisme relatif" which is a somewhat equivocal phrase, but which underlies his living systems. One might suppose that Bernard's attitude towards the development of such a point could be regarded as somewhat equivocal to the extent even of having little real meaning; certainly most of the other points in this passage have been made adequately elsewhere.

The second cut consists almost entirely of a long quotation from his

colleague Saint-Chaire Deville and here a complete and accurate summary of phenomena: monistic, royal and popular. Each differs significantly from the others, and each is given social or racial reinforcement by the others. The kind of society which can in general terms be characterized as monistic is described by Conze in terms that are clear and unequivocal; it is unlikely, he adds, to be esteemed very highly by the earth-plundering, life-destroying, chemical imperialists and development experts of the Western world. With its anti-exploitative values on the one hand and its popular magical practices on the other it will be "inherently incompatible to modern Americans." In the ninth house, with the consensus that as a writer he is inclined to "religious invective and controversy". More precisely, he is given to writing about the work of other scholars in terms that are sometimes "unduly polemical" and touched upon, which Conze, unlike more reticent exponents of Buddhism, would frankly acknowledge: astrology and controversy. Astrology, he assures us in *Further Buddhist Studies*, is an important feature of popular Buddhism, and always has been. This comes up in the course of an excellent piece on "Dharma as a spiritual, social and cosmic force". Dharma is a word of many meanings, but one of them is employed when Buddhists refer to what other people call "Buddhism".

The latter is one of a string of abstract nouns of uncertain meaning which have been used by Western popularizers. What in the West is referred to indiscriminately as Buddhism is, as Conze points out here, a complex of three distinct sets of phenomena: monistic, royal and popular. Each differs significantly from the others, and each is given social or racial reinforcement by the others. The kind of society which can in general terms be characterized as monistic is described by Conze in terms that are clear and unequivocal; it is unlikely, he adds, to be esteemed very highly by the earth-plundering, life-destroying, chemical imperialists and development experts of the Western world. With its anti-exploitative values on the one hand and its popular magical practices on the other it will be "inherently incompatible to modern Americans." In the ninth house, with the consensus that as a writer he is inclined to "religious invective and controversy". More precisely, he is given to writing about the work of other scholars in terms that are sometimes "unduly polemical" and touched upon, which Conze, unlike more reticent exponents of Buddhism, would frankly acknowledge: astrology and controversy. Astrology, he assures us in *Further Buddhist Studies*, is an important feature of popular Buddhism, and always has been. This comes up in the course of an excellent piece on "Dharma as a spiritual, social and cosmic force". Dharma is a word of many meanings, but one of them is employed when Buddhists refer to what other people call "Buddhism".

lo physiologiste et le médecin ne peuvent réellement agir que par l'intermédiaire de la physique et du chimie. C'est-à-dire par une physique et une chimie qui s'accroissent sur le terrain vital et qui se développent, se créent et s'entrelient, d'après une idée définie et suivent des déterminismes rigoureux, les conditions d'existence de tous les phénomènes de l'organisme vivant. Hardly a significant modification.

I am tempted, finally, to do, very sympathetically, a small alteration on page 109 where, in referring to physiology "qui est la science des êtres (sic) vivants" it plus difficile et en plus élevée. C'est-à-dire la science la plus avancée des êtres vivants. I have changed the thought or substance rather than one of tactical presentation, I would guess.

However, on these and other alterations, experts must decide for themselves to what extent, if any, the revised version really indicates any modification of Bernard's opinions—remembering that the changes were introduced probably only a matter of months after writing the original version—hardly long enough, it would seem, for major alterations in outlook to have developed.

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Born for invective

By Trevor Ling

EDWARD CONZE: Further Buddhist Studies. 238pp. Oxford: Cassirer. Distributed by Luzac & Co Ltd. £5.

Edward Conze was born, so he tells us, at 3 pm on March 18, 1904, at Lewisham. In the foreword to his latest book, a companion volume to *Thirty Years of Buddhist Studies* (1967), he offers the reader this information and explains its significance. It means that his natal astrological chart shows a conjunction of Mars and Moon in Aries in the ninth house, with the consensus that as a writer he is inclined to "religious invective and controversy". More precisely, he is given to writing about the work of other scholars in terms that are sometimes "unduly polemical" and touched upon, which Conze, unlike more reticent exponents of Buddhism, would frankly acknowledge: astrology and controversy. Astrology, he assures us in *Further Buddhist Studies*, is an important feature of popular Buddhism, and always has been. This comes up in the course of an excellent piece on "Dharma as a spiritual, social and cosmic force". Dharma is a word of many meanings, but one of them is employed when Buddhists refer to what other people call "Buddhism".

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Monks and missionaries

By Michael Carrithers

KITSIRI MALALOGODA: Buddhism in Sinhalese Society 1750-1900. 300pp. University of California Press. £13.50.

The current view of the state of Buddhism in Ceylon still owes much to nineteenth-century British missionaries. They, with what Kietiri Malaloga calls "millennialist optimism", found Buddhism corrupt, exhausted and near extinction. The extent to which their optimism informed their observation is suggested by the following words of a missionary widely believed to be an authority:

The country of the priests in Ceylon are frequently less intelligent than those of the common people; indeed there is a great vacancy, amounting almost to stupidity. The appearance of mental inertness has been noticed by nearly all those who have travelled in countries where Buddhism is professed.

This view is no longer credible, but a received opinion concerning the deep corruption of contemporary Buddhism is still held in many quarters: by most Orientalists, who have until recently neglected its study; by many Western Buddhists, who implicitly ignore it; and by some Sinhalese Buddhists as well, who lay blame for the decay of the British and other colonial powers.

Dr Malaloga shows to the contrary that many signs of decay were actually signs of revival. The genuine decay in the old establishment was balanced by vitality elsewhere, and that revival was almost entirely accomplished by Sinhalese monks with the help and, latterly, initiative of Buddhist laymen. He contrasts the modern period with the "classical" period, when Buddhism was a more vibrant religion, the established religion of Ceylon, in a compact and sensitive section, he outlines the features of this establishment: that the king was the protector of Buddhism; that the mainstay of lay religion was merit-making through which laymen supported the monks; and that monks, in turn, supported the king.

Such a description of Buddhism is, as Conze points out here, a complex of three distinct sets of phenomena: monistic, royal and popular. Each differs significantly from the others, and each is given social or racial reinforcement by the others. The kind of society which can in general terms be characterized as monistic is described by Conze in terms that are clear and unequivocal; it is unlikely, he adds, to be esteemed very highly by the earth-plundering, life-destroying, chemical imperialists and development experts of the Western world. With its anti-exploitative values on the one hand and its popular magical practices on the other it will be "inherently incompatible to modern Americans." In the ninth house, with the consensus that as a writer he is inclined to "religious invective and controversy". More precisely, he is given to writing about the work of other scholars in terms that are sometimes "unduly polemical" and touched upon, which Conze, unlike more reticent exponents of Buddhism, would frankly acknowledge: astrology and controversy. Astrology, he assures us in *Further Buddhist Studies*, is an important feature of popular Buddhism, and always has been. This comes up in the course of an excellent piece on "Dharma as a spiritual, social and cosmic force". Dharma is a word of many meanings, but one of them is employed when Buddhists refer to what other people call "Buddhism".

Generally, however, he is more convincing when he is dealing with philosophical and doctrinal issues. On historical matters he is inclined to ignore data which present difficulties for his case. For example, he asserts that a society which is Buddhist will (because Buddhists abhor bloodshed) "know no militarism, and the armed forces will be inefficient". Such a description of Buddhism is, as Conze points out here, a complex of three distinct sets of phenomena: monistic, royal and popular. Each differs significantly from the others, and each is given social or racial reinforcement by the others. The kind of society which can in general terms be characterized as monistic is described by Conze in terms that are clear and unequivocal; it is unlikely, he adds, to be esteemed very highly by the earth-plundering, life-destroying, chemical imperialists and development experts of the Western world. With its anti-exploitative values on the one hand and its popular magical practices on the other it will be "inherently incompatible to modern Americans." In the ninth house, with the consensus that as a writer he is inclined to "religious invective and controversy". More precisely, he is given to writing about the work of other scholars in terms that are sometimes "unduly polemical" and touched upon, which Conze, unlike more reticent exponents of Buddhism, would frankly acknowledge: astrology and controversy. Astrology, he assures us in *Further Buddhist Studies*, is an important feature of popular Buddhism, and always has been. This comes up in the course of an excellent piece on "Dharma as a spiritual, social and cosmic force". Dharma is a word of many meanings, but one of them is employed when Buddhists refer to what other people call "Buddhism".

When the British conquered Ceylon in 1815, the feudal monastic establishment began to decline. As central government over the Kandyan monasteries weakened, the monks began to abuse the monastic property in their hands, and then to ignore their religious and educational duties. A Buddhist layman testified in 1876 that temples had been built for the monks in the kings' days "for the purpose of studying and teaching religion both to the priests and laity, which duties are now utterly disregarded, the priests employing their time in other pursuits, such as trade and the management of the temporal affairs of their temples".

This would, indeed, have brought Buddhism to a parlous state, had not events in the low country followed in a very different course. With the loosening of Kandyan control over the low country, some relatively lower castes, which grew to economic consequence under colonial rule—managed to have their own members ordained as monks in Burma. This would not have been allowed by the Kandyan government, which restricted ordination to the highest caste. The first such ordination occurred in 1863, in the city of Marapana in Burma, and for the next six years groups of Sinhalese monks continued to bring back new ordination traditions. As these new fraternities flourished, so did monastic learning and practice. Indeed, the low country monks were neither supported by royal munificence nor endowed with land, they had to provide themselves in the eyes of the monks by their scholarship and behavior.

Malaloga argues that this was a relatively healthy process of segregation, rather than disorganization. The learned, who were

some of which grew quite heated—between monks in this period served chiefly to sharpen the monks' skills for their real adversaries, the missionaries. By the 1860s the monks' customary tolerance and hospitality to the often abusive missionaries were exhausted. They took to printing tracts themselves, to counter the flood of tracts poured out by the missionaries. This led to an exchange of letters, and finally to public debates. At the first of these, in 1865, the missionaries' confidence in Buddhism's decrepitude received a serious blow: facing the approximately seventy ministers and Christian laymen at Baddegama stood fifty monks and 2,000 Buddhist laymen.

The final stage of Buddhist revival and change in the nineteenth century saw the rise of what Gananath Obeyesekere has called "protestant Buddhism", both because it was a protest to missionary claims, and because it took on some protestant Christian institutional forms. After 1880 the arena of conflict shifted to education, and laymen increasingly attended to the defence of their religion. Colonel Henry Steele Olcott, of the Theosophical Society, arrived in the island in 1880, and for many years he coordinated successful lay efforts to build Buddhist schools. Dr Malaloga points out that Colonel Olcott was not singlehandedly responsible for a Buddhist revival, as some observers believed. Rather, he was pressed into service—he was not very reluctant—by Buddhists who were already roused to action.

Though it does not deal with issues beyond the stated period and subject of Buddhism in Sinhalese Society is a model of how to write about religious change. Dr Malaloga successfully tempers academic distance (which in sociological writing on religion so often masks distaste) with sympathy for the Buddhist cause.

One correction: in Appendix 2, Malaloga states that the *ceyyana* corresponds to the monk's preceptor during his novitiate, while the *deciya* corresponds to a tutor who instructs the monk in doctrine. In Ceylon, however, it may well happen that the monks who play these roles in the ordinary ceremony have never seen the candidate. Nevertheless, Malaloga's explanation, that a monk is likely to have two or more teachers, is accurate, and his table of pupillary succession is, on that account, trustworthy.

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The printer of Westminster

By Curt Buhler

GEORGE D. PAINTER : *A Quincenary Biography of England's First Printer* 227pp. Clarendon and Windes. £7.50.

EDMUND CUTHBERT : *A Portrait in a Background* 190pp. Northwood. £3.50.

RICHARD DEACON : *William Caxton The First English Editor* 198pp. Muller. £6.50.

Journal of the Printing Historical Society No. 11: 1975-6

143pp. Printing Historical Society: 21 Bridge, London EC4 14 (subscription).

JOHN DREYFUS : *William Caxton and his Quincenary* 54pp. New York: The Typophiles, 510.

SUSAN OTIS THOMPSON (Editor) : *Caxton: An American Contribution to the Quincenary Celebration* 54pp. New York: The Typophiles, 510.

The quincenary year, commemorating the first appearance of William Caxton's press in Westminster, has brought forth a veritable spate of books, pamphlets and articles on England's proto-typographer and on related matters. In addition to the publications cited above, facsimile editions of the famous Winchester manuscript of Malory and of the *Book of the City of Dreadful Night* have appeared in 1976. Further, facsimiles of the *Aspilog* (1484) and of the second edition of the *Game of Chess* have been issued under the aegis of the Scholar Press. The *Aspilog*, Norman Blake's book entitled *Caxton: England's First Publisher* also appeared in the same year, to swell the already extensive list of his publications on England's first printer.

The works here reviewed include two biographies, one bibliographical, one periodical which provides (in the main) technical non-historical studies on our printer and on various aspects of his typography. There are also booklets which should be mentioned: the first, *William Caxton and his Quincenary*, an appreciation of Caxton by John Dreyfus, the "and-further" of the celebration; the second, *Caxton: An American Contribution to the Quincenary Celebration*, two brief essays relating to the printer, edited by Susan Otis Thompson.

Turning first to the biographies, it is self-evident that they were all obliged to rely on the same, small handful of documents and records—so that there is a considerable amount of duplication in the several accounts of Caxton's life. But the uncertainty and occasional obscurity of the records, and the lack of these particular records vital for historical accuracy, leave room for great deal of varying speculation. For example, the approximate place and date of his birth, which one would expect to be a relatively simple matter to determine, especially in the case of a man whose name is so well known, remains a matter of conjecture.

Painter, born between 1420 and 1424 (possibly 1422) and possibly the son of Thomas F. Painter, Kent. (He cites Norman Blake's suggestion that the terminal dates 1415-1424.)

Griffith (Typhologie Chapbook 52): second son of Philip, at Beckingham, Kent, early autumn of 1418. Childs: perhaps the son of Stevynt Caxton, c. 1422.

Deacon: born nearer to 1416 than to 1422, perhaps at Tonbridge (but his ancestry remains a matter of conjecture).

But there are points of practically unanimous agreement, as well. It is now universally recognized that Caxton, like his father, was a Kentishman, that he was a printer, and that he was not a Frenchman.

There are still problems to be investigated, of course, and some of these Painter has barely touched upon. What about the colophon of *Diet 1* in the Rylands copy? Was this added to, or deleted from, the original setting? If deleted from the text after a few copies had been printed, it may suggest that the printer had some knowledge of the passage contained in the information which Caxton wanted to suppress, though correct enough for *Diet 1*, and thus brings up the problem of which was the earlier. The relationship of *Diet 1* to *Diet 2* is still very unclear. A similar problem exists for the colophon of *Chess 1*. Was the "of" (ie off) added in "fourscore" to emphasize this date (March 31, 1474/5) as marking the end of the printing rather than the date of the translation? It might necessitate a revision of the timing of the Caxton publications.

Since the *Cordiale* of March 24, 1475, with its seventy-eight leaves, was printed within fifty-one days, one could argue that *Chess 1* (with seventy-four leaves) was "finished off" within a comparable length of time, approximately two months. This would mean that the *Recueil* was completed no later than February 1, 1474/5, and the beginning of the printing of *Chess 1* took place by the same time. If Caxton printed a leaf every 0.65 of a day, then the 351 leaves of the *Recueil* could have been printed in about seven and a half months (227.5 days). This would push back the beginning of production of the *Recueil* to the middle of June, 1473 (or 1474), depending on Caxton's method of dating at that time. This would also provide a bit more leeway for the printing of those works issued after *Chess 1* and before Caxton's return to England, some time before September 30, 1476. Thirty years ago, I set forth arguments that *Churl 1* predated *Churl 2*—but not so in Mr Painter's list.

In line Mr Painter's bio-bibliography, of William Caxton, is how the *Recueil* was printed, and the distinguished achievement it represents for the wealth of its documentation. There are described "every known Caxton document and edition, both intrinsically and in relation to the events, persons, and movements of contemporary history in which Caxton was so intimately involved." There is much to be learned from the study of Mr Painter's book both by scholars and amateurs. This is, indeed, a book for everyone interested in the earliest printing in the British Isles. And the reading of it is made all the more enjoyable by the graceful style adopted by many of the printer's biographers, and by the fact that the book is written in a style which is both scholarly and readable.

The connection between Caxton and the Italian incunabular presses was even more tenuous as can be seen from Luigi Balsano's "The Origins of Printing in Italy and England." His contacts were purely Italian, man-of-letters in England, and not a printer, but a printer's friend. He was certainly familiar with Italian printed books, and handled them, but neither their style of printing nor their contents had any influence on him.

As the perfect companion for Mr Painter's book, and now have the eight essays in the 1975/6 *Journal of the Printing Historical Society*. These contributions, originally delivered as lectures at the Caxton International Congress, are from the most eminent members of the international Caxton community. A number of equally distinguished British bookmen. A perusal of the contents page suggested that there would be little duplication with Mr Painter's exposition; and in fact this is so.

Of course, the new emphasis on the importance of the history of the Low Countries, Germany, and especially for Caxton, is simply set forth by Severin Caxton in "Caxton in Cologne" and confirmed by Lawrence Witzke Hellinga in "Caxton in the Low Countries" as well as by Mr Painter in his book. We need a thorough bio-bibliographical study in book form of Johann Veldener. The Hollings present an interesting reconstruction for the printing of the *Recueil*. This points to the probability that four compositors were engaged in setting type for the benefit of two presses, later perhaps reduced to one. (Nicola Barker, however, suggests that Caxton was printing "a single folio page at a time, at five presses, one for each line of the text.") They also raise the disconcerting thought that the *Recueil* might have been printed in Veldener's shop in Louvain. There really is no evidence to show where the *Recueil* was printed. On the other hand, the Hollings offer a possible solution, but an uncertain one, for that much debated point, the relationship of Colard Mansion to Caxton and Mansion may have formed a company in which others (including perhaps Veldener) may have had a financial interest. But the frequent appearance of "may" in his essay provides its own warning.

The other two Continental contributions have relatively little to say about Caxton. Indeed, how could they, have said more? Jeanne Veyrin-Parier on "Caxton and France" discusses Caxton's use of French paper and his export-import trade in books. Mention is made of the difficulty of the publications produced by Antoine de Lorraine, Lyonese presses and William Caxton—with the last-named leading the way in vernacular printing. But this is sheer coincidence, for had they not printed what they did print, what else was available in the vernacular?

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For the slight, humanistic texts by Lorenzo Vives, Stefano Sforza, and Hieronymus Cardanus (all Italian residents in England and thus enjoying a local prestige), Caxton published hardly at all in the humanist field.

As for the British contributions, Norman Blake's "Caxton: The Man and his Work" covers much of the same ground that, in the past, he yielded him such a rich harvest for his voluminous publications on Caxton. Professor Blake's conclusion is that

He is not a cypher merely carrying out the whims of arbitrary patrons. He is a man of force, energy and determination. He is astute and knowledgeable enough to make money from selling various kinds of goods in ways best suited to each particular ware. He is above all a man of more imagination than we have previously allowed.

James Moran's "Caxton and the City of London" reviews various aspects of the "holy art" partly against a commercial background, and includes a long note on the possible meaning and implication of the "Red Pale" found in Caxton and Bookbinding." By Honor Nixon to be most interesting—lack the competence to review properly. This must be left for specialists to make appropriate comments. Experts, however, assure me that Mr Nixon's article is a performance of completeness and technical accuracy.

Lastly, we come to the splendid chapter by Nicholas Barker on "Caxton's Typography." Here another highly regarded expert has his say, and a very fine say it is. Detailed discussion of typographical evidence and usage is presented in this essay, red and black printing, justified lines, paper, the number of presses employed, signatures, Arabic numbering, etc., are all expertly dealt with. Barker's sharp eye has captured many technically important minutiae, but one minor point appears to have escaped his very keen eye. He does not remark on the ligature "th" found in type 2, but not in type 2. Since "th" as a double-letter would be most useful in printing English texts, it is not needed for the French. It is, indeed, not found in the text. This may argue for its use considerably earlier than March 24, 1475, when it makes its first dated appearance in the *Cordiale*. An added attraction are the illustrations for the types, the numbered one to six being from Blake. "The plates have now been reproduced without a camera, using a direct contact process and a special film, by Dr R. C. Alston. This method of reproduction, whatever it may be, provides an admirable result. Types seven to eight are reproduced from De Ricci's *Censur*. It is excellent to have these plates readily at hand.

It would be most helpful if these essays could be reprinted in book form, preferably with a hard cover. Such a publication would surely find a continuing sale among those who do not belong to the society and thus do not receive these publications.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF HERBERT MARCUSE by Harold Blotch

Available from Bellows Bookshop, 193 Haverstock Hill, London NW1 (01-787 7065)

University Press of America

REMINDER

COPY FOR CLASSIFIED

ADVERTISEMENTS IN THE

T.L.S. SHOULD ARRIVE

NOT LATER THAN

10.30 a.m.

MONDAY PRECEDING THE

DATE OF PUBLICATION

Scholar and printer

By John Dreyfus

L. T. OWENS :

J. H. MASON 1875-1951

Scholar-Printer

192pp. Frederick Muller. £9.75.

EDWARD BURKETT :

A Typographer Remembers

33pp. Esher: Penmil Press. £20

(Goat-kin, £30).

English private presses of late Victorian and Edwardian times gained their vitality from their founders' artistic talents and convictions. Men such as William Morris, Lucien Pissarro and T. J. Cobden-Sanderson stamped their own personalities upon the products of their presses. Nevertheless the technical quality of their books, and later the infusion of their example and precept into commercial printing and publishing, depended heavily upon an influential group of craftsmen-teacher, such as Sir Emory Walker, Douglas Cockerell, the blinder, Edward Prince the punchcutter, and J. H. Mason.

In J. H. Mason 1875-1951, Scholar-Printer, L. T. Owens, one of Mason's pupils at the LCC Central School of Arts and Crafts, traces the formative influences in Mason's early career as a compositor, as well as bringing alive his mature qualities as a teacher, critic and typographer. The title of the book immediately establishes the level reached by this unusual composer. With the insights of a scholar he has entered the printing trade because he was interested in reading. He also developed a prodigious gift for languages. As a student he was lucky to be befriended by G. Lowes Dickinson and G. M. Trevelyan, through whom he met teachers who helped him to master Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Russian and French, and to gain some knowledge of Italian, Arabic, Chinese and Japanese.

After an apprenticeship at the Ballantyne Press, he went as a compositor to the Doves Press where he found "a new and beautiful world after commercial work because of its deliberate choice of only the finest standards". These were set by its two partners, T. J. Cobden-Sanderson and Emory Walker. Mr Owens reveals a great deal about the operation of that uneasy partnership, and about Mason's close relationship with both men. Mason later worked for a time at Count Kessler's Cranach Press in Weimar, once again to standards which Emory Walker had helped to establish.

Mason's work with *The Imprint* magazine during 1912-13, and the making of the Monotype series of types which bear that name, is amply recorded, but the most revealing chapter is that devoted by Mr Owens to "The Scholar-Printer". Here he gives extensive quotations from Mason's writings and good reproductions of his typographical designs. To Mason's way of tradition was the only way to cultivate a true taste and judgment in letter forms. The appendices provided by Mr Owens include a useful list of books produced under Mason's direction at the Central School of Arts and Crafts, all of which are still available in its library.

The link between Mr Owens's study of Mason and Edward Burkett's volume of reminiscences is that both men were trained as compositors. Mr Burkett's slim and expensive volume is intended for limited circulation, as has been designed and printed by his author at his private press as a "tribute" to the Central School of Arts and Crafts.

Mr Burkett makes it affably clear why he has so much enjoyed his own career in printing as a designer, printer and teacher; but he fails to bring alive the man he evidently admired, such as his teacher Stanley Hoyer or his fellow designer Ashley Havinden. His text is illustrated by six tipped-in half-tones which provide (as does the frontispiece in the book on Mason) telling examples of what Mason called "that abomination in a book-art paper".

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CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

Principal Assistant Librarians

PO2 C £6,906 to £7,407 plus £312 Supplement, plus Stage 2 Supplement.
Applications are invited from suitably qualified librarians for the following posts based at County Library Headquarters, Chelmsford:

- Principal Assistant Librarian: Leisure
- Principal Assistant Librarian: Young People & Education
- Principal Assistant Librarian: Special Services
- Principal Assistant Librarian: Bibliographical Services

Essex is a large County. It includes within its borders one of England's largest ports at Tilbury, the seaside resorts of Southend and Clacton, the new towns of Harlow and Basildon and the unspoiled beauty of Constable country in the North. Essex County Library is correspondingly large. There are over 100 service points, 650 staff and all the services of a modern library system. New libraries are being built and planned to serve a population approaching 1.5 million. A major reappraisal of the system and a new management structure is being designed. As a first step a Senior Management team is being created to both help in this process and also to run the system.

There are four posts:—

Principal Assistant Librarian: Leisure

—The holder of this post will be expected to initiate work in all libraries in the County which will enable them to play a full part in the life of their communities. The way in which libraries present themselves to users, and non-users, their presentation of stock and activities will all be their concern. Particular responsibility will be for:
recreational reading
liaison with cultural groups
use of libraries for cultural purposes
display in its broadest aspects
professional staff training

Principal Assistant Librarian: Young People & Education

With this post we expect considerable experience of working with children and young people. These skills should include

an appreciation of the role of the library in fostering the growth of language, both of the school child and the pre-school child. The holder of the post will be responsible for services to school age children and earlier in schools, public libraries and elsewhere as well as with colleges and other institutes of higher education.

Principal Assistant Librarian: Special Services

An appreciation of the need for good information services, both by the specialist and by the man in the street will be required for this post. They will be responsible for this work in public libraries, particularly reference libraries, and elsewhere. Other responsibilities will be services to special groups such as ethnic minorities, hospitals, the handicapped and prisons, etc. They will also have a responsibility for the museum service.

Principal Assistant Librarian: Bibliographical Services

The holder of this post will head a team of staff, including subject specialists providing books and other media and information to all sections of the library service. Exceptional organizational skill is required. The basic areas of responsibility will be:

- new book provision and selection
- interlending
- information provision

Further details of these posts together with a preliminary report of the scheme of reorganization, is available from Mr B. Langton, County Librarian, County Library Headquarters, Goldway Gardens, Chelmsford, Essex (Chelmsford S1141), to whom applications should be sent, with the names of two referees, by Monday, August 23, 1977.



Essex County Council

Country Library Service

Assistant Librarian

Grade AP2/3 £2,529 to £3,282, plus £312 supplement, plus Stage 2 supplement.

Applications are invited from qualified librarians for this post at County Library Headquarters. The holder will be responsible for the Cataloguing Section of the Purchasing Unit. Some training in the use of the Cataloguing Unit will be provided. Applications should be made to the County Librarian, County Library Headquarters, Goldway Gardens, Chelmsford, Essex (Chelmsford S1141). Closing date is two weeks from the appearance of this advertisement.



Essex County Council

Assistant Directories Editor

Oxford University Press produces two directories from their offices in North West London, and currently an assistant editor is required who is capable of taking responsibility for the day-to-day work of a small, self-contained office.

He/she should have considerable experience of proof-reading and preferably a medical background. Commensurate salary £2,188 per annum to £4,136 per annum.

Applications with full particulars to the Personnel Manager:

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS,
Preston House, Newbury, London NW10 0DD

Oxfordshire County Council

OXFORDSHIRE COUNTY LIBRARIES

Public Service Support Librarian

Librarians' Scale, £2,127-£3,282 per annum, plus supplements for Phases 1 and 2.

Applications for the above post are invited from suitably qualified librarians. The person appointed will have an opportunity to gain varied experience in a wide range of duties, including participation in the work of the General Collections at the Central Library in Oxford and of the Bibliographical Services Section at the County Libraries Headquarters, Hinton.

The minimum salary for a Chartered Librarian will be £2,922 per annum plus supplements, and for a person who has completed Part 2 of the Library Association Examinations or its equivalent £2,529 per annum plus supplements.

Removal and resettlement allowances of up to £500 and separation allowances of £8 per week will be paid in appropriate cases.

A description of the post and all application forms may be obtained from the County Librarian, County Libraries Headquarters, Hinton, Oxford, OX9 1QQ. Telephone: Wheatley 3785, extension 34. Closing date: 12th August, 1977.

JESUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE CB5 8BL

Assistant Librarian

Jesus College requires an Assistant Librarian to be responsible to the Librarian for the day-to-day running of a comprehensive working library within a five-day week, though some flexibility in working hours may be arranged by agreement. Four weeks' holiday per year conditions are attractive and the successful applicant will be encouraged to use his or her initiative to develop and implement the library's aims and objectives.

Write, giving full details of qualifications and experience, to the Librarian, Jesus College, Cambridge CB5 8BL, by Saturday, 20th August, 1977.

IRELAND COUNTY LIBRARIAN

Leitrim Co Council

Salary: £4,408-£5,489

- Essential:
- Qualification in Library work
 - Experience of Library work
 - Knowledge of Irish

Age limits: 25-45 years.

Application forms and further particulars from: Secretary, Local Appointments Commission, 1 Lower Grand Canal Street, Dublin 2.

Closing date: 18th August, 1977.

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND ASSISTANTS

THREE POSTS IN EDINBURGH IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PRINTED BOOKS

The work of this Department of Printed Books includes copy, deposit, the acquisition of printed books, the maintenance of the catalogue, the cataloguing of periodicals, and the provision of a service to readers. All successful posts involve occasional service to readers.

Qualifications: Candidates (aged at least 16) should normally have GCE or SCE passes in English or English Language, and at least two other subjects, or an equivalent or higher qualification, and have academic qualifications equivalent to those of those who are normally considered for entry into the service.

Salary: £1,276.03 per annum at age 16 (plus £208.50 and £101.72 per annum increments) to £1,901 at age 21 (plus £313.90 and £150.50 per annum increments) rising to a maximum of £2,529 (plus £312.50 and £145.00 per annum increments). A higher starting salary, within the limits of the scale, for a candidate aged 22 or over with qualifications and experience considered to be of special value and above normal entry requirements may be awarded.

Write to the Assistant Secretary, National Library of Scotland, Leamington, Edinburgh EH1 1EW for an application form. Closing date 15 August, 1977.

PLEASE NOTE

The deadline for Classified Advertisement Copy in the T.L.S. is 10.30 a.m. every Monday

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS



Buckinghamshire County Council

1. Divisional Children's Librarian

Aylesbury
Salary: A.P. 4/5 £3,670-£4,407 p.a.

2. Librarian

In charge of Chalfont/
Chalfont St Giles
Salary: A.P. 3 £3,234-£3,594 p.a. + £120 Fringe Allowance

3. Senior Assistant

Wolverton Library
Salary: A.P. 3 £3,234-£3,594 p.a.

4. Children's Librarian

Chesham
Salary: A.P. 3 £3,234-£3,594 p.a. + £120 Fringe Allowance
Minimum qualification for above posts: Chartered Librarian

A salary supplement of £2.50 per week or 5% of the total salary, whichever is the greater, will be payable on all salaries in excess of £4.00 per week, will be payable on all salaries in excess of £4.00 per week, will be payable on all salaries in excess of £4.00 per week. Successful candidates will be subject to medical examination. Removal expenses of up to £150 and Lodgings Allowance of £8.00 per week, pending removal.

Applications (NO FORMS) together with the names and addresses of two referees, to the County Librarian, County Aylesbury, Bucks., to be received by the 11th AUGUST, 1977, from whom further details may be obtained.

Oxford University Press A Supplement to the Oxford English Dictionary

A research assistant is needed to work in London libraries on bibliographical checking of quotations and their sources and the antedating or postdating of particular words or phrases. London workers on the Dictionary staff receive a batch of work once a week, in the main consisting of queries needing answers from books or periodicals not available in Oxford. A large proportion of the work is done in the British Library (including the scientific departments and the newspaper library), but other research libraries in various parts of London are also used.

A graduate with several years' experience of reference work is needed, able to cope with scientific material, patents, and government publications, as well as less specialized sources. A reading knowledge of German would be useful. The job is a relatively isolated one, and the person appointed should be prepared to organize his or her own work with the minimum of direction from Oxford.

The salary will be in the range £2,438-£3,599. Applications, with the names of two referees, should be sent to L. R. Swamy, Oxford University Press, Walton Street, Oxford OX2 6DP, by 8 August.



BRIGHTON POLYTECHNIC LEARNING RESOURCES

COURSE RESOURCES OFFICER

£3,744-£5,985 p.a.

An experienced Chartered Librarian is required to organize library, educational development and other services in support of the learning process for Fine Art and Art Foundation year students.

Applications are particularly sought from those with a qualification or interest in the subject area.

Details and application forms from Personnel Officer, Brighton Polytechnic, Hove, Brighton BN1 9QJ. Tel: Brighton 33333. Closing date 15th August, 1977.



ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN

LIBRARY HEADQUARTERS, HERTFORD

£2,921-£3,714 (inclusive of weighting and supplement)

Applications are invited from suitably qualified librarians for this post with the County Bibliographical Unit.

Further details from Alan White, Training and Personnel Officer, Hertfordshire Library Service, County Hall, Hertford SG13 8EF. Telephone: Hertford 55242 ext. 5487.

Applications with 4 copies of the application form to the Personnel Officer, Hertfordshire Library Service, County Hall, Hertford SG13 8EF, by 15th August, 1977.

Librarian

The Coal Research Establishment of the National Coal Board is located in pleasant surroundings at Stoke Orchard, near Cheltenham in Gloucestershire. It is one of the Board's major research establishments, and is concerned with improving coal's use as a fuel and chemical feedstock.

The Establishment is engaged in a wide range of research projects on coal utilisation, and the staff comprise mainly chemists, physicists, chemical engineers, fuel technologists and mathematicians. The Librarian should, therefore, be an A.L.A. with experience in the retrieval of information for scientific research.

Salary will be negotiable in the range £4,000 to £5,000 depending on experience and qualifications. Excellent benefits include pension and generous holiday entitlement.

Please apply with full career details to:

A. R. Richoll,
Head of Administrative Services,
Coal Research Establishment,
National Coal Board,
Stoke Orchard,
Cheltenham.



UNIVERSITY OF GUYANA VACANCIES—LIBRARY

Applications are invited from suitably qualified candidates for the following positions in the University Library.

1. SENIOR ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN

In charge of In-house Services. Applicants must have professional qualifications. The applicant will be responsible for co-ordinating the work of staff members including (a) reference, (b) education, (c) law, and (d) Caribbean studies of the library. Experience of library staff training is desirable.

2. ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN (Two posts)

The minimum qualifications required are A.L.A. or equivalent, but persons who have passed the A.L.A. Part I Examination but are not yet registered as A.L.A. may apply. An interest in staff training and/or experience in a reference library would be an advantage. Duties will be to assist in the work of one of the sections of the library: A. Acquisitions, B. Circulation, C. Cataloguing, D. Caribbean or Law.

SALARY SCALES (Per Annum)

Senior Assistant Librarian (Lecturer/Senior Lecturer Scale)
UA 3/2: G\$6,000-\$14,700 / \$ 2040-\$18,300

Assistant Librarian (Assistant Lecturer/Lecturer Scale)
UA 4/3: G\$8,120-\$20,000 / \$ 2640-\$34,700

Benefits include housing allowance, contributory Pension and Medical Schemes. Annual increment from 1st January will be up to four per cent. Applications should be sent to the Librarian, University of Guyana, P.O. Box 841, Georgetown, Guyana, South America, before 12th August, 1977.

Applications (3 copies), stating name, date of birth, marital status, qualifications and dates obtained, work experience (with dates), names and addresses of three referees (one of the referees must be your present or last employer, where applicable), must reach the Personnel Section, University of Guyana, P.O. Box 841, Georgetown, Guyana, South America, before 12th August, 1977.



Metropolitan Borough of WIRRAL

SENIOR ASSISTANT LIBRARIANS £2,127-£3,282 (minimum of £2,922 for Chartered Librarians) + £312

One post has responsibility for services at Greasby Branch Library which operates within a group library structure.

The other post is second-in-charge at Heswall Branch Library. This is the largest branch in Wirral, opened in 1974, and has an annual issue of approximately 340,000.

Applicants should be Chartered Librarians or have completed the relevant professional examinations. The holder of the post at Heswall Branch Library should be a Chartered Librarian or have completed the relevant professional examinations. Applications from the Director of Leisure Services, 8 Riverside Road, West Kirby, Wirral, Merseyside, returnable by 12 August.

DEPUTY CHIEF LIBRARIAN

Applications are invited from suitably experienced Chartered Librarians for the above post, which will become vacant during October, 1977, following the promotion of the present holder to a Borough Librarian's post with another local authority in London. Salary scales £5,970-£8,540 plus £285 London Weighting and £312 flat rate supplement. Pay Award pending.

CROYDON

Further details and application forms from the Head of Personnel Services, London Borough of Croydon, Taberna House, Park Lane, Croydon, CR9 3JH. Tel: 01-885 4433 extension 2191. Informal enquiries may be made to the Chief Librarian, Yoni Khalifa, at the Central Library, Katharine Street, Croydon, CR9 3JH. Closing date 20th August, 1977.

UNIVERSITY OF BRISTOL LIBRARY

Final honours graduates are invited to apply for the post of Assistant Librarian. The post will be concerned with the day-to-day running of the library and the provision of reference services. The holder will be responsible for the day-to-day running of the library and the provision of reference services. The holder will be responsible for the day-to-day running of the library and the provision of reference services.

CHELSEA COLLEGE

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

Applications are invited from suitably qualified candidates for the post of Assistant Librarian. The post will be concerned with the day-to-day running of the library and the provision of reference services. The holder will be responsible for the day-to-day running of the library and the provision of reference services.

DEVON LIBRARY SERVICES

FIRST ASSISTANT

NORTH DEVON AREA

API £2,569-£2,903 (including supplement)

The post is a first-time supervisory post with a general range of library duties in a small, single-branch library and mobile library.

For further details and application forms please send a stamped and addressed envelope to the County Librarian, Devon County Library, Devon House, Tavistock Road, Exeter, Devon, EX1 1AA. Closing date 9th August, 1977.

BRUNEL UNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

RESEARCH IN MATHEMATICS

EDUCATION

ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN

Graduate research fellow needed to work with Professor of Education and BP Fellow in Mathematics Education in the Department of Education, Brunel University, Uxbridge, Middlesex. The post involves research in the field of mathematics education and the provision of library services to the research team.

Qualifications and/or experience desirable in at least two of the areas of: teaching, psychology, mathematics, education, research, action research, research methodology, or research evaluation. Highly desirable: a postgraduate research degree in mathematics or education.

Salary scale £2,569-£2,903 (including supplement) plus £312 London Weighting. Applications should be sent to the Librarian, Brunel University, Uxbridge, Middlesex, before 12th August, 1977.

Applications (3 copies), stating name, date of birth, marital status, qualifications and dates obtained, work experience (with dates), names and addresses of three referees (one of the referees must be your present or last employer, where applicable), must reach the Personnel Section, University of Guyana, P.O. Box 841, Georgetown, Guyana, South America, before 12th August, 1977.

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